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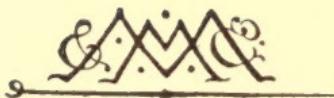
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THE
LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO



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THE
LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
BEING
A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS INCLUDED IN
MR. WATSON'S SELECTION
WITH HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

BY THE
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TO
T. C. BARING, ESQ., M.A.,
M.P. FOR THE CITY OF LONDON,
THE MUNIFICENT BENEFACTOR OF HERTFORD COLLEGE,
OXFORD :
WHOSE LIBERALITY
HAS GIVEN TO A COLLEGE OF ANCIENT NAME
THE PROSPECT OF
A USEFUL AND DISTINGUISHED FUTURE

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

I HAVE again been enabled to revise the whole of my version, within, it is true, the somewhat narrow limits allowed by stereotype plates, but with the advantage of the great stride in Ciceronian criticism which has been made in the thirteen years since my last edition. Professors Tyrrell and Purser, in the Preface to their concluding volume (1899), speak of "that flood of light which in the last decade the labours and genius of many Continental scholars—especially O. E. Schmidt, Gurlitt, and Lehmann [Mendelssohn is only a little earlier]—have thrown on the text, the history of the MSS., and the chronological sequence of the Letters." To these the two Professors' own noble edition of all the Letters, in chronological order, must now happily be added, a work reflecting the highest distinction, not only on its editors, but on the great University of Dublin, from whose press it is issued. I have already, in successive notices of the third, fourth, and fifth volumes in the *Classical Review*, expressed my appreciation of this important work; but at the time of my last edition only two volumes had been finished, covering the ground of the first thirty Letters in this book. I

must also offer my cordial thanks to the greatest of our Ciceronian scholars, Dr. Reid of Cambridge, for some very valuable notes and criticisms, to which in nearly every case I have been able to assent, while in several I had anticipated his view. On a few passages in the earlier part, where space in the page proved insufficient, I have been obliged to relegate the note to an additional page at the end of the book. Mr. Watson has somewhat modified his views as to the dates of certain Letters, owing to the researches of Schmidt, Nake, and others, especially in the Fifth Part. The order of the Letters, of course, remains the same, but I have noted any divergence of views about the date. I have also added to the table of chronological order one of comparison with the Tyrrell-Purser edition.

December 1901

PREFACE.

I HAVE attempted what I now know to be the difficult task of steering a middle course between a critical translation of Cicero's Letters for the scholar, and a Life of Cicero, told mainly by himself, for the English reader, and perhaps the long time which this work has required has caused some inconsistency of method. That a translation on entirely new lines was really needed seems to me beyond a doubt. The wordy paraphrase of the Letters 'Ad Familiares' by Melmoth, much resembling those that are given in Middleton's once famous Life, the heavy but uncritical rendering of those to Atticus by Heberden, and the almost unknown version of the latter by Guthrie, are the only complete ones of either set in English; while the French rendering of the Letters to Atticus by the Abbé Mongault glides indeed with French neatness round most of the difficulties, but never even attempts to surmount one. And yet so frequent are these difficulties, that even when following in the track of so careful and scholarly an editor as Mr. Watson, I have constantly been obliged to support my own version with a minute critical discussion of the text or its renderings, which to an English reader must,

I fear, be intolerably dull. Neither is there such a Life of Cicero told by means of his Letters as I have here contemplated. Dean Merivale's translation of Abeken's 'Cicero in seinen Briefen' was in its day a most useful work, but in it the whole or any large part of a letter is seldom given, and an English reader would gain very little idea from it of the style of Cicero. My object has rather been to make an accurate reflex of his correspondence the principal part, connected together by just so much of the intervening history as is necessary to form an intelligible continuous narrative of his life.

And to almost any reasoning and reasonable narrative of Cicero's life I should attach the highest value, irrespective of the conclusions it led to. There is no other classical work to be compared to his Letters for teaching that the Romans were real living men and women, and not mere paper characters, or school-masters' puppets. The time in which he lived, too, was to us almost the central time of the world's history ; and there were giants on the earth in those days. Moreover, the often noticed parallel of Cicero's age with our own, though strained by Mr. Froude beyond what it will bear,¹ is yet at once plausible and penetrating, and gives to the story of this age an interest and value not resting entirely on the skill of the narrator.

But Cicero must be used only with caution and knowledge as a historian. When Mr. Forsyth,² for

¹ Mr. Froude, for example, p. 143. in his desire to be modern, calls Caesar 'Pope of Rome' because he was Pontifex Maximus !

² Forsyth, pp. 496, 181; compare Beesly, Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, p. 70.

example, describes the tortures of Trebonius, or states that 'twenty thousand of the noblest youths in Rome testified their attachment for him by changing their dress,' because Cicero does so in a speech or a letter, he very justly exposes himself to the sarcasms of Professor Beesly. But though few would commit themselves so far as this, it is much too confidently asserted that we always have in the Letters a genuine record of Cicero's feelings. We are told, for example, in a review of Mr. Froude's book that 'the modern world is Cicero's "valet. Every trait of personal vanity, every passing impulse of self-interest, every momentary vacillation of purpose, is laid bare before us, to be studied with the same leisurely attention which we devote to Caesar's narrative.'³ Now this can never have applied to any but the purely private letters written without thought of publication. Which are these letters? A broad line must be drawn, to begin with, between most of the letters to Atticus, and most of the letters to less intimate friends. Many of the latter, like the long letter to Lentulus (No. xxix.), are in no sense private documents any more than a speech or an election address. Many again were written in order to be 'published' by circulation. See Letter viii. 8, where this proceeding is expressly excluded. And, thirdly, we know from Cicero himself that he intended to revise and edit a collection of his own letters, which was then in the hands of Tiro (Ad Att. xvi. 5). Now even on the doubtful theory that this did not include any of the

³ Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1879; compare Forsyth, p. 54.

correspondence with Atticus, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that Cicero should not have known that Atticus was preserving his letters for publication (*Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus*, 16). This certainly does not make the letters one whit less valuable, probably indeed it makes them far more valuable, but surely it greatly affects the light in which they should be regarded.

And therefore I have endeavoured to connect these letters together by a brief narrative involving as little as possible of doubtful theory, or of any particular view as to the character of Cicero or Caesar. It will no doubt be obvious from this narrative that I hold the downfall of the Roman Senate and the triumph of Caesar to be an immense step forward in the history of the world, but it has surely been shown already, that it is quite possible for one who accepts this view to respect the character and ability of Cicero, without feeling it necessary to deny his errors, or to gloss over all his graver lapses from his better standard. The constant references given here to his most accessible biographers—Forsyth and Abeken, as well as Merivale and Mommsen—will put any one who refers to them in possession of various sides of each question. I have also added references here and there to Long's Decline of the Roman Republic, Trollope's Cicero, Froude's Caesar, Boissier's '*Cicéron et ses Amis*', and various articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionaries of Biography and Geography.

Mr. Watson's selection has now so thoroughly

established itself that a choice of it in preference to any other needs no justification, unless I was prepared to translate—as perhaps I may hereafter do—the whole collection of the Letters. I should myself have admitted, had I been selecting, a somewhat larger element from Cicero's private correspondence, such as would make Letter liii., for example, seem less of an excrescence than it does now, but for the political history of the time it is as nearly complete as possible. Of editions I have used principally, of course, Mr. Watson's, to which I owe obligations on almost every line of my work. The more I know his edition the more I appreciate its thoroughness and skill in disentangling the twisted threads of Roman political history. Boot's Letters to Atticus (Amsterdam, 1875) is also a very valuable piece of work. I have also consulted, I believe, all the English editions, but few of them are of more than schoolboy standard. Mr. Pretor's edition of Book I. of the Letters to Atticus is a marked exception. It coincides with this collection in five letters only, but these are among the most difficult of all. Of Professor Tyrrell's important edition of all the Letters in chronological order, two volumes only, down to the year 52 B.C., have as yet been published. This work has been received with a general chorus of praise which appears to me to be amply justified, and it promises when completed to be one of the few monumental works of English scholarship.

I must now ask for an unprejudiced consideration of the two points—both of them admitted and practised

by scholars, but never hitherto carried out completely—in which, to reproduce the form of the different letters, I have deliberately varied from the conventional type of translation of a classic. These are (1) the variation of style adopted according to the writer or the general tone of a letter ; (2) the rendering of all Greek phrases by a foreign, not an English equivalent. In both respects, I am happy to find myself in full agreement with Professor Tyrrell.

The first ought to need no insisting upon, but for a curious superstition, rather analogous to the way in which some people would read the Bible, that ancient writers were always standing on their dignity. But any one who is in the least alive to the *nuances* of the Latin language, will see that Cicero, Caelius, Metellus, and the rest of the correspondents differ from each other just as a number of English gentlemen might differ. And further, one of the great merits of Cicero is his extreme flexibility. A letter of his to Paetus is no more like a letter to Lentulus than a letter of Thackeray is like a letter of Addison ; and to translate all alike into well-meant Addisonian English is entirely to destroy this merit. No letter-writer who was capable of the severer style ever stood less upon his dignity, when he knew his correspondent well. He makes puns of appalling badness, and derives the usual pleasure of bad punsters from them ; he has not the smallest horror of ‘slang’ Latin, or very Roman Greek ; he will even repeat jokes at which the cautious Atticus might well be excused for lifting his eyebrows (ix. 5).

And therefore, in order to give any reproduction of the original, a translation of Cicero's letters, above all other works, must aim at flexibility.

The second variation from the conventional type that I have made is based on the same principle. It is to translate all quotations by quotations, and all foreign phrases by foreign phrases. It is really quite astonishing at this time of day to find any critics left who think that to introduce a quotation from Vergil or Horace in a translation of Cicero is an 'anachronism.' What do they suppose that English is? Macaulay's schoolboy would hardly need the explanation that all translation of an ancient classic must be an anachronism. The place which Homeric phrases occupied with Cicero is taken by Latin poetical phrases with us, and these are therefore their proper rendering; and it is really surprising, on grappling closely with this question, to find how many of the Homeric phrases are reproduced in Latin almost word for word.

The other application of this principle, the rendering of all foreign phrases by foreign phrases, is a little less obvious, but quite as sound. The *meaning* of any Greek phrase can be given by an English translator generally as well in English as in French, and nearly always more easily. But this is simply shirking the trouble, if a translator adopts the second, essential canon, that he is to reproduce his author's form as well as his meaning. Hence it is gravely to be regretted that even such a scholar as Professor Nettleship⁴ should

• Academy, 9th October 1880, review of the first edition of this work.

make the misleading criticism, that the use of French phrases in translating Cicero sometimes suggests the style of a 'modern novelist.' Of course it does, and ought to do; where Cicero deliberately writes, as he often does, in the style, say of Ouida, we have no business to translate him into the style of Addison.

The whole subject of the use of Greek in Latin writers deserves close examination. I know of no writer but Professor Tyrrell who has as yet given this at all; and he has come to exactly the same conclusion that I did independently. (See his Introduction, i. 66.) To put it down merely as a fashion of the day—though even this would have to be reckoned with in translation—is entirely refuted by the facts. For example, of the 200 times that Greek occurs in this selection, no less than 190 occur in the letters to Atticus. This enormous disproportion plainly shows, I think, that the abundant use was *not* a general fashion, but was a kind of *plaisanterie* between the two friends. Atticus was literally *doctus sermones utriusque linguae*, and probably often wrote wholly in Greek; Cicero was evidently rather proud of his Greek (though it was far from perfect), much as a travelled Englishman may be proud of his easy, if incorrect, French. Apart from this habit, which applies to the majority of cases, the *reasons* for the use of Greek on each occasion vary. They may, I think, be classified as follows:—

i. By far the largest class is where a Greek word was naturalised to supply a want in Latin, just as we often use French: *e.g.* *ὑπόμνημα*, a *résumé*;

όδοῦ πάρεργον, *en passant*; σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας, a *coup d'état*. Some of these Professor Tyrrell prefers to render by slang phrases, such as *πολίτευμα*, ‘platform,’ *ἄμωρφον*, ‘bad form.’ I think, however, without disputing his view, that the use of a foreign word is safer.

2. Cicero almost always uses Greek for technical terms, especially *medical* (see Letter lxxv., note 1). For this, *Latin* would often be the best equivalent. Similarly he uses it of *logical* terms (Letter vii. 4).

3. In a few cases (*e.g.* Letter cxvii. § 8) Cicero seems to be merely quoting the words used by Atticus, who wrote as freely in Greek as in Latin.

This second and stereotyped edition I have revised throughout with all possible care, and have added considerably to the notes and references. I must here express my thanks to the numerous and mostly able reviewers of the first edition, who gave the book as a whole a very kindly and discriminating welcome. I have in all cases considered, and, as far as I found myself on reflection able to do, have adopted all serious suggestions.

I must also repeat my thanks to many friends for kind help in a very laborious task. The carrying out in full of the principle I have maintained above—to render all foreign phrases by foreign phrases—would have been impossible without the assistance of two accomplished French scholars, former colleagues of mine at Haileybury—A. Messervy, Esq., Rector of the Royal College at Mauritius, and J. D. Whyte, Esq.,

of Haileybury College. I owe the first suggestion of many renderings of disputed passages to the profound and accurate scholarship of my former college tutor, A. T. Barton, Esq., of Pembroke College. I must also thank Mr. Watson, the Principal of Brasenose College, for the help he has always readily given to a work which is subsidiary, and not, I hope, unhelpful to his own. And finally, I must thank my old pupil, A. C. Clark, Esq., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; the Rev. W. D. Fenning, of Haileybury College, and G. A. Macmillan, Esq., for many useful notes on various parts of the book.

The edition of Mommsen referred to is the English translation by Professor Dickson (the paging is the same in both editions, but the fourth volume is not now divided into two); of Merivale, the Library Edition in eight volumes, 1865; of Forsyth, the third edition, 1869 (still very inaccurate); of Froude's Caesar, the Popular Edition, the *chapters* of which, but not the paging, are the same as in the larger.

G. E. J.

SHORWELL VICARAGE, I. W.

September 1887.

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¹ This should be 144; see Prof. Tyrrell's Introd. vol. ii. p. xvi.

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TABULAR LIFE OF CICERO

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	44.	The 'Topica,' 'De Officiis,' and 'De Gloria'	352, 355
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PART I.

THE CONSULSHIP OF CICERO AND
ITS RESULTS.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS-
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

PART I.

I. (AD ATT. I. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT ATHENS.

July, 689 A.V.C. (65 B.C.)

Marcus Tullius Cicero was the son of a Roman *eques*—practically, of a small country gentleman—at whose estate near Arpinum, in the Volscian hills (the birthplace also of the great Marius), he was born Jan. 3, 106 B.C. He studied philosophy and rhetoric under various teachers, one of whom—the famous Molon of Rhodes—is mentioned in Letter ix. His earliest extant speech is that on behalf of Sextius Roscius of Ameria, in 80 B.C. (unless the defence of Publius Quinctius is rightly assigned to the preceding year; see Trollope's Cicero, i. p. 90); but his rise into importance may be said to have begun with his great impeachment of Gaius Verres, the infamous pro-praetor of Sicily, ten years later. With Sicily Cicero had already some connection; for in 76 B.C. he was elected one of the quaestors, and obtained by lot the department of Lilybaeum, under his friend Sextus Peducaeus, who is frequently mentioned in these letters, at this time pro-praetor of Sicily. In 70 B.C. Cicero then, with the exception of Hortensius, the leader of the bar, was elected aedile, and in 67 praetor, at the time when Pompeius was at the height of his power, and when Caesar had not yet come to the front as the head of the popular party. On the expiration of this office he refused to leave Rome for a pro-praetorship, that he might stand for the consulship at the earliest opportunity, viz. for 63 B.C. He was the favoured candidate of the moderate section of the *optimates*, *i.e.* the aristocratic or conservative party, whose watch-word now was the union of the Senate with the Equites, or middle class.

The present letter is almost entirely taken up with Cicero's prospects of election. It is the earliest we possess, except a few unimportant ones belonging to the three previous years. Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom it (like nearly half of the extant letters) is addressed, was a fellow-student and the lifelong friend of Cicero. He was a man of thoroughly cultivated tastes, and apparently half a Greek in habits and sympathies, which is the main reason for the exceptional frequency of Greek words in the letters addressed to him. He was also one of the wealthiest men in Rome, and possessed numerous estates abroad, one of which—that near Buthrotum, in Epirus, now Albania—is frequently mentioned. On the character of Atticus see Watson, Appendix III; Tyrrell, i. p. 44; Mommsen, iv. p. 510; Boissier, *Cicéron et ses amis*.

On the early life of Cicero see Forsyth, ch. 1-6; Abeken, pp. 1-42; Trollope's Cicero, ch. 2-7; and on the state of parties at Rome at the period of this letter, Mommsen, iv. 155-168; Merivale, i. ch. 2 and 3; Long, iii. ch. 11; Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*, pp. 1-19.

1 So far as one can guess at present what will happen, the prospects of my canvass, in which I know you take the deepest interest, stand much as follows. Only Galba is personally asking for votes: and he gets an old-fashioned no, without any varnish or polite evasions. What people say is that this over-eagerness of his in beginning to canvass has been far from unfavourable to my interest; because when they refuse him a vote it is generally on the ground that I have a right to it. So I have hopes of this doing me considerable service when the news spreads that my friends are discovered to be very numerous. I have thought of beginning canvassing in the Campus Martius at the election of tribunes, that is July 17, the very day on which Cincius tells me your messenger leaves with this letter. My competitors, at least those who seem to be known for certain, are Galba, Antonius, and Cornificius. At this point, I take it, you have laughed or groaned. Well, then, to make you smite the tragic brow, there are people who think Caesonius will be one too! We do not imagine that Aquilius will. He stoutly refuses, and has vowed that his bad health and his unquestioned sovereignty at the Bar are reasons against it. Catilina will be certain to stand if the judges decide that day is night.¹ You can hardly expect me to be writing about that Aulus junior² or Palicanus.

¹ In other words, that black is white, and that Catilina is innocent.

² Prof. Tyrrell has, I think, satisfactorily vindicated the MS. reading *Aufidio*, which would refer to Titus Aufidius, formerly *praetor* of Asia. *Auli filio* is a mere correction of Orelli from Att. i. 16. 12, referring to Afranius.

As to the candidates for this year, Caesar³ is thought to be ² safe. The struggle is supposed to lie between Thermus and Silanus, and they are so poorly off for friends, as well as for reputation, that I fancy it would not be *infaisable* to run Curius against them. Nobody but myself however takes this view. Apparently it is best for my prospects that Thermus should be returned with Caesar. No one of the present candidates, if he should have to stand over to my year, would be likely to be a stronger competitor, because he is the commissioner for the Flaminian Road ; and as that will be finished by then, I should be very glad to see his name returned as consul now with Caesar.⁴ This is the general idea which up to the present I have formed of those who are standing. For my own part, I intend to use the greatest diligence in discharging the whole duty of candidates, and as Gaul⁵ seems to carry great weight in the voting, when our law-courts have begun to cool down after term-time I mean to run down next September to Piso⁶ on a commission, so as to be back in January. When I have thoroughly satisfied myself as to the intentions of our aristocracy I will let you know. Everything else must, I think, run smoothly, at least if these civilians⁷ are my only competitors. Mind, as you are nearer to them, you must guarantee to secure me all that set of Pompeius, our good friend. Tell him I shall not be at all annoyed with him if he should fail to appear at my election.

³ Lucius Caesar ; see Letter ii.

⁴ The Medicean MS. reading, which is retained by Mr. Watson, is unintelligible. Mr. Pretor reads '*quae tum erit absoluta. Sane facile et libenter eum cum Caesare consulem factum viderim.*' Manutius suggests *addiderim*. Mr. Tyrrell proposes '*Thermum Caesari consulem accuderim*' = 'I would wish to solder together Thermus and Caesar in the consulship,' and believes it to be a play on *thermus*, a lupine, and *cicer*, a vetch, a suggestion of Bosius. Fortunately the general sense of the passage is clear.

⁵ Only Cispadane Gaul is here meant. The many uses of Gallia need great care in distinction by the context. On the extension of the franchise to Transpadane Gaul, see Introd. to Letter xxxi.

⁶ Gaius Calpurnius Piso, consul 67 B.C., and now Governor of Gallia Narbonensis, i.e. the south of France. The *legatio libera* was a sinecure, giving the privileges of an ambassador (see xi. 3). It was a gross abuse of public funds, afterwards denounced by Cicero, *de Leg.* iii. 18.

⁷ This may mean, 'those who are now in town,' but more probably = 'a military candidate would be a stronger rival.' Hence the remark about Pompeius, whom he does not want to come to town with all his officers.

3 Well, so much for that matter, and how we stand. But there is something for which I am exceedingly anxious to be sure of your forgiveness. Your uncle Caecilius, having been cheated out of a considerable sum of money by Publius Varius, is beginning to take legal proceedings against his brother⁸ Aulus Caninius Satyrus for the recovery of the property, which he is accused of having purchased under fraudulent pretences. The other creditors also are parties to the action, including [Lucius] Lucullus, Publius Scipio, and one Pontius Aquila, who will, they suppose, be the Official Receiver if the property comes to the hammer. But to be discussing who is to be the Receiver is absurd. Hear my case now. Caecilius has asked me to appear for him against Satyrus. Now hardly a day passes without this Satyrus coming to my house. It is Domitius whom he honours with the first place, myself with the second in his attentions; and he was exceedingly useful both to my
4 brother and to me at our elections. In fact, I am much troubled from my friendship on one hand for Satyrus, and on the other for Domitius, on whom above any one else my chance of being elected mainly rests. This I have explained to Caecilius, at the same time assuring him that if the matter lay simply between him and Satyrus I would certainly oblige him; but as it is, this being a case which concerns all the creditors (particularly as they are men of position, well able to protect the interests of their own body without the help of any one specially retained for Caecilius), it was not unreasonable to expect him to make some allowance too for my obligations and my present position. I thought he took this more rudely than one would like, or than is usual in good society, and afterwards entirely broke off our acquaintance which had sprung up in the last few days. I beg you will not be angry with me for this, and believe that good feeling made it impossible for me to come forward to blast the whole career of a friend in deep distress, when that friend had strained

⁸ *Frater*, like *ἀδελφός* (compare the controversy about 'James the Lord's brother'), may mean cousin, but hardly where there is nothing to suggest it. He may have been a half-brother, or either of them may very well have been adopted into another family, adoption being very common at Rome. *Satrius* is perhaps the true form of the name *Satyrus*.

every nerve to show his regard and zeal for myself. If, however, you are inclined to be hard on me, you will think it was my election stood in the way. Well, for my part, even granting it to be so, I think I might be forgiven :—

‘neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur.’⁹

In short, you see how I have to steer, and to make up my mind not only never to throw away supporters, but to be always adding to them. I hope I have convinced you : at any rate I am really anxious to do so.

Your Hermathena¹⁰ I am immensely delighted with, and it is so beautifully placed, that all the rest of the gallery seems to be little else than the *cadre* to it.—Yours ever.

II. (AD ATT. I. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July, 689 A.V.C. (65 B.C.)

The election of consuls for 65 B.C. resulted in the return of Lucius Caesar, uncle of Marcus Antonius, a man whose importance seems mainly due to his family connections, and Gaius Marcius Figulus, a more decided member of the senatorial or aristocratical party. On the day of election Cicero's son Marcus, often spoken of in later letters, was born.

After the expressions used in the last letter we are astonished to find Cicero intending to defend Catilina on his trial ; though whether he actually did so was uncertain even to historians of the next century (Watson, Introduction, p. 7). Catilina was acquitted, it is said (but this is a matter of course), through bribery. Compare on this damaging admission of Cicero's, Abeken, 39 ; Beesly, Catiline, 26 ; Long, iii. 199, 240 ; Forsyth, 89 ; Trollope, i. 256.

I must write to tell you that the day which has made ¹ Lucius Julius Caesar and Gaius Marcius Figulus consuls¹ has

⁹ Aen. xii. 764. Cicero's quotation is from Iliad xxii. 159, of which Vergil's line is a paraphrase. In other words, ‘the prize (of the consulship) is a noble one.’

¹⁰ A two-faced statue of Hermes and Athena. Such figures seem to have been fashionable at Rome at this time. The phrase, *eīus ἀνάθημα* (= the whole gallery seems to be dedicated to it), is a mere correction of the Med. reading *eliu anaθma*, which Prof. Tyrrell insists should be *ἡλιον ἀναμμα*, the lighting up, or kindled orb, of the sun. Neither reading, I think, carries conviction with it.

¹ That this refers to the day of election, not of entry upon office, is shown by the recorded fact that Catilina was tried in the consulship of Cotta and

brought me the good fortune of a little son, and that Terentia is doing well.

Not a line from you all this long time! I took pains some time ago to write you a full account of my prospects. At present I am debating about defending my rival Catilina. We have the very bench we want, and the prosecutor is most obliging. If he secures an acquittal I hope he will then be more inclined to coalesce with me in my candidature, but if ² that fails I shall politely acquiesce. It is essential for me that you should come, and that before long, for there is a very strong idea prevailing that some friends of yours in high position will be jealous of my success. I see that you will be invaluable for gaining me their support. So be at Rome, as you intended, by next January.

III. (AD FAM. V. 7.)

FROM CICERO IN ROME TO POMPEIUS AT HIS HEAD-
QUARTERS IN THE EAST.

Early in 692 A.V.C. (62 B.C.)

Yielding to Cicero's entreaties Atticus came to Rome, and in consequence there is a gap in their correspondence of about three years, unfortunately including the important one of Cicero's consulship. For the year 63 B.C. Cicero was elected consul at the head of the poll, Gaius Antonius Hybrida, 'an indolent, insignificant man, who willingly lent himself as a tool to the democrats' (Mommsen), obtaining a few votes more than Catilina for the second place. In October the Catilinarian conspiracy broke out: five of the principal conspirators, but not including Catilina himself, were arrested, and on Dec. 5 were strangled by order of Cicero as consul, after a majority in the Senate had voted for their execution. This proceeding is alluded to by Cicero very frequently in the following letters. On the legality of the execution see Watson, App. iv. 131; Mommsen, iv. 179; Merivale, i. 116; Letter x. note 5; Beesly, Catiline, 34; Long, iii. 337; Forsyth, 119; Trollope, i. 276; and on the character of the Catilinarian conspiracy see the authorities referred to, Watson, p. 10.

By the end of 63 B.C. Pompeius had completed the subjugation of the East under the extraordinary powers conferred on him by the acts of Gabinius and Manilius, and announced his successes in an official despatch of a somewhat boastful character to the Senate.

Torquatus, 60 B.C. The term 'consul,' though Mr. Forsyth (p. 87) seems not to know it, can be applied to a consul-elect. See e.g. Philippic, xiv. 3, 8.

Allow me to express my best wishes for the continued prosperity of yourself and your army.¹

Like every one else I derived unspeakable pleasure from your official despatch. You have now displayed before our eyes as complete a prospect of peace, as I, merely from my absolute confidence in your abilities, have always held out to other people. I ought to mention however that your quondam foes, but present friends,² are amazingly hard hit by this dispatch, and are now lying prostrate in the collapse of all their great expectations. As to your letter addressed to myself, though it contained but scanty expression of your regard for me, it was, I assure you, most welcome. Nothing ordinarily gives me so much pleasure as a consciousness of having fulfilled the duties of friendship; and even if sometimes they are not fully responded to, I am well content that the balance of good offices should be on my side. At least, I cannot doubt that if my thorough devotion to you has failed to win your regard, the good of our country will ever draw and keep us close together. Still, not to conceal what I felt was wanting in your letter, I will be frank with you, as my own inclination and our friendship alike require. My achievements have been such that I did expect some recognition of them in your letter, both on public grounds and from our personal intimacy. This, I take it, was omitted by you because; you would say, there was the risk of wounding some one's feelings. But I assure you that my action for the preservation of our country has been met with a chorus of approval and acknowledgment from the whole world: and when you come, you will find that I acted throughout with such discretion as well as spirit, that you, being a second and far greater Scipio, ought not to find it hard to admit me, like a second Laelius, and not much his inferior, to be your chosen associate, alike in our public aims and our personal friendship.

¹ 'It seems to have been the Roman etiquette to use this deferential form of address towards persons in a very high position, towards strangers, and towards women.'—Tyrrell. Notice the curt form of it used in the next letter.

² Probably this refers to the democratic party as a whole, between whom and their political opponents Pompeius all his life played a double game. Caesar had certainly been making overtures on behalf of the popular party. It may however refer to something of which we have altogether lost the key.

IV. (AD FAM. V. 1.)

FROM QUINTUS METELLUS CELER IN CISALPINE GAUL
TO CICERO AT ROME.

Early in 69² A.V.C. (62 B.C.)

It was usual for a consul to address the people from the Rostra on laying down his office. But on Cicero's proposing to do so, one of the new tribunes, Quintus Metellus Nepos, who, it should be noted, was the agent of Pompeius (Mommsen, iv. 189), interposed his veto on the ground that he 'had put Roman citizens to death without trial.' Cicero retorted with an oration entitled *Metellina*. This produced the following letter of haughty but ill-expressed remonstrance from Quintus Metellus Celer, the brother of Nepos (see Letter i. note 8), who was now acting-proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul. Cicero's reply is a masterpiece of defence. Smith's Dict. Biog. ii. 1061; Forsyth, 125; Trollope, i. 297; Tyrrell, Introd. 57.

I trust this will find you in health.

1 I had certainly supposed that mutual regard, as well as our reconciliation, would have secured me from being attacked and ridiculed in my absence, and my brother Metellus from being persecuted by you in respect of his rights and property, for a petulant phrase. Even if he found scant protection in the respect due to him, yet surely the exalted rank of our family, or my own services to your party and to the state, might have proved an adequate defence. I see now that he has been entrapped and I have been neglected by the very
2 men in whom such conduct was least becoming. The result is that I, the governor of a province, the general of an army, nay, actually engaged in the conduct of a war, am wearing the garb of sorrow. But since you have thus deliberately acted in defiance alike of all reason and of the courtesy of former times, you must not be surprised if you have cause to rue it. I used to hope that you were not so lightly attached to me and mine; still, for my part, neither the slight to our family nor the injuries any one may inflict upon me shall ever alienate me from the patriotic cause.

V. (AD FAM. V. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO METELLUS CELER IN CISALPINE GAUL.

A reply to the preceding letter.

Early in 692 A.V.C. (62 B.C.)

Allow me to express my good wishes for the prosperity of yourself and your army.

Your letter to me says you had supposed that mutual 1 regard and our reconciliation would have secured you from attack and ridicule on my part. Now what may be the meaning of this I fail to see quite clearly. I suspect however that some one may have informed you how I, when insisting in the Senate that a considerable party still felt some bitterness at my having been the instrument of saving the country, stated that you had consented, at the request of some relations whom you could not well refuse, to suppress the encomiums you had intended to honour me with in the Senate. In saying this, however, I added that you and I had shared the duty of saving the constitution ; for while my part was to defend the capital from intrigues at home and intestine treason, yours was to guard Italy from open attack and secret conspiracy ; but that this alliance of ours for so great and glorious a work had been strained by your relations, who, though I had been the means of procuring you a most important and distinguished charge, were afraid of allowing you to pay me any portion of regard in return. As these words of mine 2 showed how much I had looked forward to what you would say, and how entirely I was disappointed, my argument seemed to excite a little amusement, and was followed by a certain amount of laughter, not at you, but rather at my own disappointment, and because I was acknowledging so naïvely and openly that I had eagerly looked forward to being eulogised by you. And surely what I said cannot but be considered complimentary to you if even in the fullest splendour of my renown and achievements I still longed to have some confirmation of this from your own lips.

3 And as to your reference to our ‘mutual regard,’ I know not what you consider reciprocity in friendship. To me it seems to mean that friendly feeling is as freely rendered as it is accepted. In my own case, if I affirm that for your sake I have allowed my claim to your province to be passed over, I shall perhaps seem to you to be trifling with words; for self-interest really brought about this resolution, and every day I reap therefrom additional fruit and satisfaction. What I do affirm is this—that from the moment I had declined the province in public, I began to cast about how I could best throw it into your hands. As to the balloting between you and the others I say nothing: I merely wish to suggest a surmise that nothing whatever which my colleague did therein was without my full cognisance. Look at what followed; at the promptness with which I convoked the Senate that very day when the balloting was over, and the ample terms I must have used in your favour when you yourself told me that my speech not only paid a high compliment to you, but was very disparaging ⁴ to your colleagues. Nay, the very decree of the Senate passed that day has a preamble in such terms that while it remains extant my services to you cannot possibly be ignored. Then, again, I must beg you to recollect how after your departure I spoke about you in the Senate, how I addressed public meetings, and how I corresponded with you; and when you have taken all these things into account, then I must ask you to judge for yourself whether you can fairly say that your late demonstration of coming to Rome was meeting me in a ‘mutual’ spirit.

5 With reference to what you say about a ‘reconciliation’ between us, I do not understand why you should speak of reconciliation where there has never been an interruption of ⁶ friendship. As to your brother Metellus not deserving, as you say, to be exposed to attacks from me for a mere petulant phrase, I must ask you first of all to believe that I strongly sympathise with your motives in this, and the kindly feeling shown in your brotherly affection, but then to pardon me if for my country’s good I have ever opposed your brother; for in patriotism I yield not even to the most ardent of mankind. Nay more, if it prove that I have but been defending my own

position against a cruelly unjust attack he himself made upon me, you may well be satisfied that I do not make a personal complaint to you of your brother's injustice to me. For when I had ascertained that he was deliberately aiming a blow delivered with the whole weight of his position as tribune in order to crush me, I applied to your wife Claudia¹ and your sister Mucia, whose liking for me, owing to my intimacy with Pompeius, I had often tested, to deter him from the wrong he purposed doing me. In spite of this, as I know you must ⁷ have heard, on the last day of the year he put upon me—the consul who had saved the Republic—an insult which the vilest citizen in the most beggarly office was never yet exposed to; actually debarring me when laying down my office from the privilege of a farewell address. Yet this insult of his resulted in a signal honour to myself; for as he would make no concession except that I might take an oath, I pronounced aloud the truest and noblest of oaths,² and as loudly the people in answer solemnly attested that this I had sworn truly. Yet ⁸ though I had received this signal affront, on that very day I sent an amicable message to Metellus by our common friends to entreat him to reconsider his attitude towards me. His answer to them was that this was no longer open to him, for that not long before he had publicly expressed his opinion that a man who had punished others unheard ought himself to be debarred the privilege of being heard in his turn. How dignified! how patriotic! A punishment inflicted by the Senate, with the approval of every respectable citizen, on those who would have burned Rome, murdered her magistrates and Senate, and fanned the flames of a widespread war, he would now inflict on one to whom it was granted to deliver the Senate from murder, the capital from fire, and Italy from

¹ This was the famous Clodia, probably the 'Lesbia' of Catullus, who *was* afterwards suspected of poisoning her husband Metellus. Cladia is the form here, but Munro (Crit. on Catullus, p. 196; cf. Ellis, p. lxii.) says that the three daughters as well as the youngest son Publius called themselves Clodius and Clodia, while the father and his two eldest sons spelt their name in the traditional manner. Mucia, the half-sister of Metellus, was at this date the wife of Pompeius.

² Plutarch says that Cicero swore a new form of oath; not that he had 'discharged his duty,' but that he had 'saved the constitution.'

civil war. And so I withheld your brother to his face, for having to answer him in the Senate on the 1st of January about the political situation, I took care to let him know that he would find in me a most resolute and determined opponent. Upon the 3d of January, when he opened the debate upon his proposal,³ about one word out of three in his speech was aimed at me or contained a threat against me. Nothing could possibly be more deliberate than his attempt to effect my ruin by any means whatever, and that not by legal trial or argument, but by a violent and bullying attack. Had I not brought spirit and determination to meet his reckless onslaught, who could fail to believe that the resolution displayed in my consulship was due not to deliberation but to chance?⁴

9 If you have not hitherto been aware that such was Metellus's attitude towards me, you have a right to think that your brother has suppressed some of the most material circumstances from you; while, if he has taken you into his counsels at all, I have a right to be credited with having shown great moderation of temper for not remonstrating with you about this very incident. And if you see now that I was driven into resentment, not by a phrase of Metellus, as you represent it, but by his deliberate and bitter animosity against myself, let me point out to you my forbearance, if indifference and laxity about resenting so malicious an attack deserves the name of forbearance. Never once did I speak for any motion attacking your brother in the Senate at all: whenever attention was called to his conduct I supported without rising those who seemed most moderate in their proposals. I will add this too, that though after what had passed I had no reason to take any trouble about the matter, I regarded without disfavour, and indeed supported to the best of my humble ability, the proposal for granting a bill of indemnity to my assailant, on the ground that he was your brother.

³ That Pompeius should be recalled to establish order in Italy.

⁴ Cicero here seems to have anticipated some modern criticism. 'It was the humorous trait seldom wanting to a historical tragedy that this act of the most brutal tyranny had to be carried out by the most unstable and timid of all Roman statesmen, and that the "first democratic consul" was selected to destroy the palladium of the ancient freedom of the Roman commonwealth, the right of *provocatio*.'—Mommsen, iv. 179.

Thus you see that what I have done was not to 'attack' ¹⁰ your brother, but to repel your brother's attacks. Nor has my attachment to yourself been light as you say; on the contrary, it has been so strong that my friendship for you remains as ever, though I have had to submit to the loss of your attentions. Even at this very moment, all that I have to say in answer to your (I might almost call it) threatening letter is this: I for my own part not only make allowance for your indignation, but applaud it highly, for my own feelings teach me to remember how strong is the influence of brotherly ties. From you I claim a similar candour in judging of my sense of wrong. If I have been bitterly, cruelly, and unreasonably attacked by one who is dear to you, I claim the admission not only that I was in the right to maintain my position, but that I might have called on you—yes, and your army too—to have aided me in so doing. I have ever been desirous of calling you my friend: I have now striven hard to convince you that I have been a true friend to you. To those sentiments I still adhere, and so long as you permit me will continue to retain them. I would far rather forget my resentment against your brother from love for you, than permit that resentment in the smallest degree to impair our good will to each other.

↓ VI. (AD ATT. I. 13).

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

Jan. 25, 693 A.V.C. (61 B.C.)

On the night of December 3 or 4,¹ when the festival of the 'Good Goddess,' from which all males were rigorously excluded, was being celebrated at the house of Caesar, then *praetor* and *pontifex maximus*, Clodius was discovered to have made his entrance, disguised in woman's clothes. In January, 61

¹ According to Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 147) the festival of the Bona Dea was held on May 1, and Prof. Beesly believes that the charge was raked up seven months after, merely for political purposes. But the Bona Dea of Ovid seems to be a different goddess worshipped in a temple on the Aventine (Tyrrell, i. 22), and 'from Plutarch, *Cic.* 19, 20, compared with in *Cat.* iii. 2, 6; iv. 5, 10; ad *Att.* x. 1, it appears that the sacrifice this year was offered on Dec. 3 or 4.' —Watson.

B.C., the Senate directed the consuls, Marcus Pupius Piso and Marcus Valerius Messalla, to prepare a bill for bringing Clodius to trial for sacrilege before a special court, to be composed of jurors nominated by the praetor, instead of being selected by lot in the usual way. Of this Piso strongly disapproved. Pompeius, as usual, would not commit himself to a definite approval of the prosecution. The matter created a strange furore, somewhat like that of the Hermae at Athens. Eventually the trial took place in the ordinary way, and Clodius was acquitted by a majority of six. See on this trial Prof. Beesly's article on Clodius (Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius, esp. pp. 48-60); Merivale, i. 144-152; Long, iii. ch. 17; Forsyth, ch. 10; Trollope, i. ch. 10.

I have now had three letters from you; one through Marcus Cornelius, which I presume you gave him at the Three Taverns; a second which was forwarded to me by your host at Canusium;² and now this makes the third, which you tell me you wrote on board a rowing-boat, as your ship had already weighed her anchor.³ All of them were, as a schoolboy rhetorician might say, 'not only relieved with polished wit, but distinguished by all the marks of affection.' These three letters have certainly been an incentive to me to write back ere this; but the fact is that I have got somewhat behindhand, from not finding a safe messenger. How few men there are indeed who can carry a somewhat weighty letter without lightening their load by mastering its contents! Another reason is that it is not always of any use to me⁴ when somebody is starting for Epirus; for I imagine that having now done due sacrifice before your Amalthea, you have started forthwith to lay siege to Sicyon.⁵ And yet I am not quite clear even about the date when you are to go to Antonius,⁶ or

² Now Canosa, where Atticus stopped on his way to Brundisium.

³ *De phaselo* has generally been rendered as meaning 'when you were already on board' = *dē nave*; but possibly the 'anchor' is that of the sailing vessel, which had just started, and Atticus, being at the last moment put on board by some boatmen, gave them a letter to take back to shore. Prof. Tyrrell, however, after Peerlkamp, denies the possibility of '*ancora soluta*', and reads '*ora soluta*'.

⁴ Some word essential to the construction must have dropped out. Tyrrell suggests *usui*; others *prodest*.

⁵ Atticus called a shrine at Buthrotum his '*Amaltheum*' (Letter viii., *ad fin.*), either, as Mr. Watson says, from its being decorated with pictures from the story of Amalthea, or, as Mr. Pretor prefers, simply from the abundant fertility of the place, in allusion to Amalthea's 'horn of plenty.' Cicero humorously assumes that Atticus has sacrificed like a general at his favourite shrine, before commencing his campaign against his debtors at Sicyon.

⁶ Gaius Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, was now Governor of Macedonia.

how much time you propose to give to Epirus, so I am afraid to entrust a somewhat confidential letter to any Greek or Epirot fellows. Since your departure, indeed, events have ² happened well worth a letter from me, but then it is one which must not be exposed to any such risk as that of being lost, or opened, or intercepted.

To begin with then, let me tell you that I was not asked my opinion first in the Senate, precedence over me being given to the peacemaker from Gaul,⁷ though there were murmurs from the house at this proceeding. I myself however am far from displeased, being now freed from paying any further attention to a crotchety person, and at liberty to assert my proper position in spite of him; while, after all, the second place in the order of speaking has little less influence than the first, and leaves one's feelings unfettered by any very special obligation to the consul. Third comes Catulus;⁸ fourth—if you care to go so far down—Hortensius.⁹ As for the consul himself, he is a man of a narrow and perverse mind, fond of making retorts of the sullen kind which raise a laugh without any wit at all, because he is laughed at more for his expression than his expressions;¹⁰ one who never consults the wishes of his country, and keeps aloof from our constitutional leaders: a man to whom you may safely look never to do the country any good, because he has not got the inclination, nor harm, because he has not got the courage. His colleague¹¹

⁷ The presiding consul was entitled to call on the ex-consuls (after the consuls-elect and the *princeps senatus*) to express their opinions in any order he pleased, but it was usual to keep to the same order all the year. Cicero had probably been called on first during the consulship of Silanus and Murena, in the previous year, and was evidently nettled that Piso now gave precedence to his relative, Gaius Calpurnius Piso, consul 67 B.C., who had just quelled a slight revolt of the Allobroges in Gallia Narbonensis.—Mommsen, iv. 213.

⁸ Quintus Lutatius Catulus, about whose character, as the most upright and honourable of the aristocracy, historians show unusual unanimity. Merivale, i. 55; Mommsen, iv. 8; Forsyth, 156; and Mr. Watson's and Mr. Pretor's notes on this passage.

⁹ Quintus Hortensius, the most famous orator of Rome, until he was surpassed by Cicero.

¹⁰ I owe this neat rendering to Mr. Pretor. It is worth notice that in the speech on behalf of Plancius (v. 12), Cicero calls this same Piso '*homini nobilissimo, innocentissimo, eloquentissimo.*' (!)

¹¹ Marcus Valerius Messalla Niger. Compare Letter vii. § 6.

however is not only most complimentary to me, but an enthusiastic champion of his party, and on the right side. Between them the disagreement at present is slight, but I fear this infection when it has once got hold may spread ; for of course you have heard that when they were offering a national sacrifice at Caesar's house a man dressed in woman's clothes made his way in. Also that after the Vestal Virgins had performed the sacrifice afresh Quintus Cornificius called the attention of the Senate to the matter ;—that he was the first to do so I mention lest you should assume it was any one of my own standing—and that after this the house decided to refer the matter to [the Vestal Virgins and] the Pontifical College, who decided it to be sacrilege ;—that hereupon the consuls introduced a bill in accordance with the vote of the Senate ; and that Caesar has served a notice of divorce on his wife.¹² In this question, Piso, instigated by his friendship for Clodius, is straining every nerve to secure that this measure, though introduced by himself, introduced moreover in accordance with a decree of the Senate, and on a question of sacrilege, shall be thrown out. Messalla, so far, is strongly in favour of rigorously pressing the matter. Respectable people are being induced by Clodius's entreaties to take no part in the question, and they are getting hired rowdies together. I myself, though I had been a veritable Lycurgus at first, now feel my indignation every day subsiding.¹³ Cato is foremost in insisting on stern measures. To make a long story short, I feel that this scandal, being treated with indifference as it is by our respectable citizens, and backed up by the vicious, may prove a source of much danger to the State. As to that great friend of yours (you know whom I mean ?¹⁴), about whom you wrote me word that he was now beginning to praise only when he found he could not venture to blame, he is ostensibly very fond of me : he devotes himself to me, loves me like a brother,

¹² This was Caesar's second wife Pompeia, grand-daughter of Sulla. His celebrated saying that 'Caesar's wife must be above suspicion' was in answer to some who argued that the divorce implied an acknowledgment of the guilt of Clodius.

¹³ There is a severe comment on this passage and Abeken's distortion of it into 'the lukewarmness he at first manifested' (p. 82) in Mr. Pretor's Introduction, p. x.

¹⁴ Pompeius.

and is loud in my praises before my face ; in his heart (but still enough to be plain on the surface) he is jealous of me. There is no courtesy, no candour, no highmindedness in the man—*comme politique*—nothing dignified, resolute, or generous. But I will write to you of this on a future occasion more in detail ; for at present I have not got fully to the bottom of it, and I cannot venture to trust a letter on matters of such importance to this son of the soil, when goodness knows who he may be.

The praetors have not yet drawn for the provinces.⁵ Everything is just as it was when you left. That ‘orientation’ of Misenum and Puteoli which you say is wanted I will make a point of introducing in my speech.¹⁵ I had already noticed that the 3rd of December was an incorrect date.¹⁶ The points you select for praise in my speeches I liked already, I warrant you ; but now that my Atticus has approved them I find in them far more of the *sel attique*. To the Reply to Metellus¹⁷ I have made some additions ; a copy shall be sent to you, since your partiality for me has made you such an admirer *artis rhetoricae*. Have I anything new to tell you ? Let me see⁶ —yes, I have. Our consul Messalla has bought Autronius’s¹⁸ house for £120,000. What is that to me ? you will say. Only that his purchase proves that I made a good bargain ; and people are beginning to see that it is quite legitimate to borrow the money for buying from one’s friends as a help to a good position. That business of the ‘Trojan Dame’ still drags on, but the matter is not hopeless.¹⁹ Mind you finish your part. If you wait you shall have a less reserved letter from me.

Jan. 25.

¹⁵ This seems to mean that Atticus had suggested a description of the locality in some speech, but Mr. Pretor prefers to render ‘I will pack up the plan in the same parcel with my speech.’ Prof. Tyrrell suggests *incudam*.

¹⁶ Probably only of some previous letter.

¹⁷ See Introduction to Letter iv.

¹⁸ Lucius Autronius Paetus was now in exile for connexion with the conspiracy of Catilina. The figures of the price are suspicious.

¹⁹ The allusion in the name Teueris is obscure, but from Att. i. 12 it clearly has some connexion with Gaius Antonius, Cicero’s colleague in the consulship. Mr. Pretor argues that it is Antonius himself, and to this Mr. Watson now inclines. Prof. Tyrrell thinks it is a female agent of Antonius, employed to pay Cicero some money ; see on Att. i. 12. 1.

VII. (AD ATT. I. 14.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

Feb. 13, 693 A.V.C. (61 B.C.)

1 I am afraid it must be sickening to you to hear how busy I am, but for all that I am so distracted with work that I can hardly find time for this note, such as it is, and even that has to be taken in snatches from most important business.

What Pompeius's first speech was like I described to you before—to the poor it was not encouraging, to the radicals unsatisfactory, not promising enough for the well-to-do, and not dignified enough for the patriotic: the consequence of which was that it had a chilling reception. Afterwards, at the instigation of our consul Piso, Fufius Calenus, an utterly worthless tribune, brings Pompeius forward to address the people. (This took place in the Flaminian Circus, and there happened to be already there that very day the solemn *conciliabule*—of a market-day.¹⁾ The question put to him was whether he was in favour of the jury being nominated by the praetor, and that the said praetor should make use of their services as his assessors in council, this being the proposal adopted by the Senate to meet the case of the Clodian **2** sacrilege. Hereupon Pompeius spoke *très en aristocrate*, replying that the authority of the Senate was and always had been to him supreme, and this at considerable length. Afterwards one of the consuls, Messalla, put a question to Pompeius in the Senate about his sentiments on the question of sacrilege and of the bill which had been introduced. His reply in the Senate took the form of a panegyric on the acts of that body *en bloc*,² and on resuming his seat he remarked to me; 'I think I have

¹ The sarcasm consists in applying so dignified a term as *πανήγυρις*, a conclave, to a lot of market-people. Similarly, *conciliabule* is properly applied to an assembly of schismatical prelates, but Rousseau uses it in a curious parallel to Cicero's expression: 'les conciliabules qui se tiennent chez les femmes de chambre.'—Hel. vi. 10.

² Pompeius in a 'very aristocratic' speech might praise the acts of the Senate *en bloc*. Mr. Watson and Prof. Tyrrell, however, render γενικῶς 'in general terms,' 'sans particulariser.'

answered fully enough about your³ action too.' When Crassus ³ found that Pompeius had won applause solely because he had suggested the impression that he approved of my consulship, he rose and spoke in most enthusiastic terms of my proceedings as consul, going so far as to say that he owed it to me if he was this day a senator, a citizen, a free man—ay, or a living man at all: he could not look on wife, or home, or country without having before his very eyes the blessings that I had bestowed. In short, all those phrases about fire and sword (but you know the *paillettes*⁴ with which I love to colour those speeches of which you are the Aristarchus) he worked with much effect into the thread of his argument. I happened to be sitting next to Pompeius, and saw how the man was annoyed, either that Crassus should step in to establish a claim for gratitude which he himself had omitted to secure, or else that my actions should be important enough for praise of them to meet with such a response from the Senate: particularly as it came from one who owed me a panegyric all the less because in every line I have written⁵ he has been rather hardly treated to exalt Pompeius. This ⁴ day has made me a close ally of Crassus: yet whatever credit the other was willing to allow me, directly or indirectly,⁶ I was

³ 'Istis' seems to imply (so Boot and Tyrrell) that the actual words of Pompeius are quoted.

⁴ *Paillettes* (spangles) is not an exact rendering of *ληκύθους*, but expresses perhaps adequately the metaphor to be conveyed, which is that of colour appearing only in patches. Horace's *purpureus pannus* is similar, and might be adopted as an alternative. The metaphor in *ληκυθος* and *ampulla* (Hor. Ep. i. 3, 14) is from their use to hold moist colours, and hence is applied to word-painting, or tricks of colouring in language. This, the true explanation, is given by Pretor, Tyrrell, and Prof. Wilkins in his ed. of Horace's Epistles and in Class. Review, ii. 213. The idea that it means 'swelling-phrases,' from the supposed round shape of the vessel, though given by Forcellini, Matthiae, and some editors of Horace, is quite untenable, and may now be considered exploded. A third view, that the word became proverbial for a 'tag' or mannerism, from the *ληκυθιον* of Aristophanes, is suggested by Orelli, and adopted by Liddell and Scott; but the coincidence of the word seems to be purely accidental, and the point of the attack on Euripides is quite different.

⁵ The rendering of *litteris=scriptis* is supported by Mr. Watson, Mr. Shuckburgh, and Mr. Roby, Class. Review, i. 69; but Prof. Tyrrell regards this usage as unsupported by evidence, and certainly not justified by its common meaning of 'literature.' I think the rendering in the text may well stand; but if not, we must with Tyrrell insert *orationibus* after *meis*, and take *omnibus litteris = 'in every line of them.'*

⁶ I agree with Mr. Watson and Boot in taking 'aperte tecte' as a conven-

glad to receive. Then as to myself, on getting a new listener in Pompeius—ye gods! *comme je me suis pavane!* If ever I found ‘period’ and ‘turn’ and ‘antithesis’ and ‘constructive argument’⁷ rise spontaneously to my lips, it was then;—in short, I brought the house down. In fact—to give you a *résumé* of my argument—it was about the dignity shown by our body, and their harmony with the equestrian order; the unanimity of Italy; the dying embers of the conspiracy; and the plenty and peace we enjoyed. You know already how I can deliver my thunders on such material as this. They were so loud that I may now say the less about them, as I suppose they made themselves heard even where you are. As for the position of affairs at Rome: our Senate might have been ‘upon Mars’ Hill.’ Nothing could be more resolute, more stern, or more determined. For when the day came for submitting to the people the proposal accepted by the Senate, some young fops with those little beards came trooping up—the whole of Catilina’s herd in fact—under the leadership of that girl, young Curio, and implored the people to reject the bill. Why even Piso, who as consul had proposed the bill, was himself working against it. Clodius’s rowdies had blocked up the gangways: the voting tickets were being supplied in such a way that not a single ‘Aye’ was given out.⁸ Hereupon you should see Cato rush to the tribune and make an astounding invective against Piso, if one can call invective a speech that breathed nothing but dignity, nothing but authority, and, in a word, nothing but saving counsel. On the same side too came our friend Hortensius and many true men besides, Favonius however being specially distin-

tional phrase, which has therefore lost the connecting particle, like *patres conscripti, lis vindiciae*, etc. So also Mr. Roby, Classical Review, i. 69. Mr. Pretor separates the words: ‘I openly acknowledged, if he even secretly conceded.’ Profs. Tyrrell and Purser prefer ‘with obvious guardedness.’

⁷ The phrases are given by Cicero in Greek as being technical terms. The nearest Latin equivalents seem to be *circuitus* (Cic. Or. 204), *flexus* [if we read *καμπαῖ*] (Quintilian, v. 13), *syllogismus imperfectus* (Quint. v. 14), and, most probably, *confirmatio* (Cic. Inv. 24; Quint. x. 5). Compare Mr. Puff’s ‘you have trope, figure, and metaphor, as plenty as noun-substantives.’—Critic, ii. 2.

⁸ ‘It is an old story. There are people to this day who assure you that Napoleon III. obtained his throne by tampering with the ballot-box.’—Beesly, Clodius, p. 48.

guished for his activity. By this rallying of the loyalists the assembly is broken up, and the Senate convoked. When the time came for passing the decree in a full house (Piso meanwhile exerting himself in opposition, and Clodius kneeling in entreaty to every single person) that the consuls should use their influence to induce the people to accept the proposal, some fifteen personages voted with Curio, who was for making no decree at all: against him there were easily four hundred. That settled the matter. The tribune, Fufius, then gave way. Clodius made some pitiful harangues in which he assailed Lucullus, Hortensius, Gaius, Piso, and the consul Messalla with abuse: me he only twitted with 'being in the secret of everything.'⁹ The Senate then proceeded to pass a resolution to stop all business about the praetors' provinces, and the reception of ambassadors, and so on, till the bill became law. Now you know all about politics ⁶ at Rome. But I must tell you one other thing, which is more than I had hoped for. Messalla is an admirable consul, brave, resolute, and energetic; he praises, is devoted to, and imitates me. His colleague is only saved by one vice—his laziness, sleepiness, ignorance, and extraordinary *fainéantise*—from being entirely vicious: in spite of which he is so *méchant* that he has hated Pompeius ever since that speech of his in praise of the Senate. The result is that he has alienated all the better men to an astonishing degree, though he has been instigated scarcely so much by his interest in Clodius as by his zeal for the most profligate both of men and measures. But he finds no imitator among those in office except Fufius. We are enjoying a good set of tribunes, and as for Cornutus, he would like to be a Cato if he could.¹⁰ But enough of this.

Now to return to domestic matters. The 'Trojan Dame'¹¹ has been as good as her word. Mind that you fulfil the com-

⁹ Alluding apparently to some boast of Cicero's about his adroit management of his information in the Catiline conspiracy, which had become a joke against him. See Merivale, i. 116.

¹⁰ Mr. Pretor thinks *bonis* decisive against the meaning 'a sham Cato'; but he has failed to quote any instance of the use of *Pseudo* in a complimentary sense. If Cicero means that Cornutus was sound, he must at least imply that he was the ass in the lion's skin. 'Cato's Sancho' is a phrase used by Mommsen of Favonius.

¹¹ See Letter vi. § 6.

missions you have undertaken. My brother Quintus, who has bought up the remaining three-quarters of his house in the Argiletum for £6000, is trying to dispose of his place at Tusculum to buy Pacilius's house if he can. Make it up¹² with Lucceius: I see the man is a good deal smitten with the itch of office. I will do my best to help you. Mind you let me know exactly your doings and your whereabouts, and how those matters of ours are getting on.

Feb. 13.

✓ VIII. (AD ATT. I. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

May or June (?) 693 A.V.C. (61 B.C.)

1 You ask me what can have happened about the trial to make it end in such a completely unexpected way, and you want likewise to know how I came to show less fight than usual. I will answer your questions '*more Homerico*',¹ and take their order *au rebours*. The fact was that so long as I had the resolution of the Senate to plead for, I fought so keenly and strenuously that the crowd was rallying round me with shouts of applause till I had covered myself with glory. Nay, if ever you have thought me a resolute statesman, you could not fail to have given me credit in this case. For when I found that my enemy had betaken himself to stump orations and was trying to use my name in them to exasperate the people—great Heavens! how I fought and spread desolation around me! what onslaughts I made on Piso, on Curio, and all that crew! how I inveighed against the trifling of the older, the indecency of the younger men! Throughout it all, upon my solemn word, it was not only for the support of your advice I wanted you, but that you might see for yourself my amazing encounters. However, after Hortensius had hit on

¹² Madvig and Wesenberg read *redii*, 'I have made it up.'

¹ Horace's phrase about Homer, *in medias res auditorem rapit* (A. P. 148), will illustrate this. Prof. Tyrrell well quotes Quintil. vii. 10: *more Homerico e mediis vel ultimis.*

his scheme of letting the tribune Fufius bring in his bill about sacrilege, differing from the proposal of the consuls in one point only, namely the class of people to try the case—this of course being the vital point,—and struggled hard to get his measure passed, because he had really persuaded himself as well as others that the defendant could not possibly be acquitted by any kind of panel whatever, I reefed my sails, knowing only too well the neediness of the jury, and did not give a syllable of evidence except what was already so well known and attested that I could not pass it over. So if you want—*pour en revenir*—to know the cause of the acquittal—it was the empty pockets and itching palms of our jurymen. For this disaster we are indebted to the advice of Hortensius, who in his fear that Fufius would veto the measure prepared in accordance with the decree of the Senate, entirely failed to see how far better it had been to leave Clodius in disgrace and obliged to appeal for pity, than entrust the matter to a corruptible set of jurors. Misled however by his indignation he precipitated the trial, saying that a sword, were it of lead, could not fail to cut *his* throat. But the trial! if you ask me about 3 that, we can scarcely believe the ending: it has so completely justified my condemning Hortensius's plan from the very first, just as other people do now after the result. When the challenging had taken place amid loud outcries, the prosecutor like a scrupulous censor rejecting the infamous characters, and the defendant like a kind-hearted exhibitor of gladiators putting aside the most respectable, from the moment the jury had gone into the box, the hearts of good people began indeed to fail them. Greater rascals, in fact, never sat round the table of a gambling hell. There were seedy senators and needy knights, and tribunes who may be called paymasters, but are not masters of much pay.² Yet here and there among

² Or 'cashedier rather than cashiers.' The *tribuni aerari* were, according to Niebuhr, the successors of the ancient tribunes of the tribes. They collected the *tributum*, and paid it over to the military quaestors. But the office became merely nominal, and seems to have included all the most substantial householders in a ward. Hence by the Lex Aurelia of 70 B.C. they were made a third class, with senators and *equites*, to form the jury-panel. The present text requires *aerati* to be interpreted 'moneyed,' whereas with the very plausible correction of Muretus, followed by Tyrrell, *non tam aerari ut appellantur,*

them were respectable people whom the defendant had been unable to get rid of by his challenge. There they sat, looking as sad as they felt, among companions who formed the strongest contrast to them, and sorely troubled at their contact with
4 such pollution. Well, as point after point was submitted to the bench on the preliminary applications, the uprightness they showed was utterly unexpected, and that without a single dissentient voice. The defendant did not gain a point: the prosecutor was allowed more than he ventured to claim; in a word, Hortensius was beginning to be triumphant at his own penetration. Nobody looked on Clodius as now on his trial, but rather as condemned a thousand times over. But when they called me as a witness, I suppose the uproar of the partisans of Clodius must have been enough to tell you³ how the jury rose as one man, how they took their stand by me, how they showed themselves to Clodius in the court ready for my life to offer their throats to the sword. This circumstance seems to me more complimentary than either the famous one when you Athenians made Xenocrates give his evidence without oath, or when in our own country a jury refused to inspect the accounts of Metellus Numidicus on their being handed round as usual: this tribute to myself is, I repeat,
5 even more remarkable. Thanks therefore to these utterances from the jurors, since they rallied round me thus as the saviour of the country, the defendant was utterly smashed, and he and all his supporters gave in, while next day I was met at my house by as great a crowd as that which escorted me home in triumph when I laid down my consulship. Forthwith our noble Areopagites complain loudly that they cannot venture to come, unless a guard be given them. This is

quam aerati, it will mean 'bribed.' The word does not occur elsewhere, except in the literal sense, so that we have no clue from usage to determine this choice of meaning.

³ Like Mr. Pretor, I cannot understand why Prof. Tyrrell (and Mr. Shuckburgh) should turn this 'you must have heard how the judges rose after the outcries,' etc., which requires a violent distortion of the order of the words. The hyperbole is common enough, compare Letter vii. § 4; or for a much more recent parallel, Mr. Leslie Stephen's 'Johnson,' p. 137: 'Johnson burst into a sudden fury against the American rebels, and roared out a tremendous volley which might almost have been audible across the Atlantic.'

referred to the bench. One vote only was given against having a guard. The proposal is then introduced in the Senate, and voted in the strongest and most complimentary terms ; the jury are commended, and the necessary powers given to the magistrates. Not a soul thought the fellow would have any defence to make. But now *musa, mihi caussas memora.*⁴ You know whom I mean by ‘Baldhead’—one of the Nanneian set—that late panegyrist of mine⁵ about whose speech and its compliments to me I have already told you—well, in a couple of days, with the help of a single slave, one fetched too from the nearest training-school, he had the whole business settled : he had sent for them all, promised the money, given security, and paid the bribe down. To crown it all (heavens, what a depth of villainy !) even the favours of certain ladies and introductions to youths of good family helped with some of the jury to round the price. In the end, though there was a complete disappearance of the better sort, and the forum was crowded with gladiators, there were still twenty-five on the bench resolute enough, even in face of this extreme danger, to be willing to lose their lives rather than live and be lost ; while thirty-one of them cared little about being famous, but much about being famished. When Catulus met one of them afterwards, ‘Why was it,’ says he, ‘you demanded a guard from us ? Were you afraid of being robbed of your wages ?’

Here then you have, as shortly as I can put it, the kind ⁶ of trial there was, and the reason of the acquittal. You next proceed to ask what is the state of things in general and what is my own. Know then that all that basis of law and order which you believed to be made secure by my human providence, and I by the divine ; which indeed appeared to be fixed and established by the united action of all good men and the wholesome precedent of my consulship, has now,

⁴ Aen. i. 8. The mock-heroic exordium of Cicero is from Iliad xvi. 112.

⁵ Letter vii. § 3 seems to show that by ‘Baldhead’ Cicero here means Crassus, who it is suggested by Manutius may have bought up some of the estates of Nanneius (a victim of Sulla’s proscription) under the name of Calvus. This, however, is mere guess-work, and some corrupted Greek word may be here concealed, such as Boot’s suggestion, *εξαντιλον*, ‘a sudden convert.’

unless Heaven somehow look with pity on us, slipped from our hands through this single judgment—if it be a judgment that thirty of the most worthless scoundrels among all the people of Rome should overthrow for a paltry bribe all law and justice; and that what not only every human being but the very brutes know was committed, a Thalna, a Plautus, a Spongia, and other scum like this should decide has not been
7 committed. Still, to give you a little consolation about the future of our country, disorder is not so hotly triumphant as the vicious hoped for after the heavy blow inflicted on the constitution. For they clearly argued thus: that if religion, virtue, the integrity of the courts, and the authority of the Senate could only be put down, the result would be that crime and lust being openly victorious would wreak their vengeance on all good citizens for the pain of the brand that had been
8 burnt into every villain by my stern consulship. It was I too (and I cannot accuse myself of wanton boasting in this, seeing that I am writing to you and about myself, more especially as this is a letter that I do not want to be read to other people)—it was I also, I say, who revived the drooping courage of the good, by reassuring and rousing each individual to action: while by attacking and harrying these venal jury-men I stripped his partisans and *claqueurs* of their brag about their victory: the consul Piso I would not allow a leg to stand on for a single moment; I snatched Syria away from the man when it had been already promised to him; the Senate I recalled to its former sternness, and roused it from its dejection; Clodius I smashed then and there in the Senate first with an elaborate harangue in my most dignified tone, and then by the sparring-match I am going to describe. (You may have just a few tit-bits of it to taste, for the rest could not possibly have any point or interest when one has lost the heat—or as you people call it the *acharnement*—of debate.)

9 On the 15th of May then, when the Senate met, being invited to deliver my opinion I spoke at some length on the true interests of the Republic, and was inspired to utter this remark, that the Fathers of the State must not be utterly beaten, not lose all heart, because they had received one blow. The

wound, I said, was of such a nature as, in my opinion, ought neither to be hidden out of sight, nor overmuch feared : in the one case we should be proved by ignoring it to be of the blindest, in the other by our terror, of the most helpless. Twice had Lentulus, twice had Catilina been acquitted : here now was a third let loose upon the State by his judges. ‘No, Clodius, you are very much mistaken : when the jury reprieved you, it was not to send you back to the city, but to the dungeon ; not to keep you in this country, but to prevent you from merely going into exile. Wherefore, Senators, be of good courage ; maintain your authority. Still as before we have the sympathy of every good man in the State. All true men have suffered a blow, but their courage has in no wise been shaken : no new mischief has been created, but that which existed has been brought to light : in trying one abandoned man we have found out several like him.’ But what am I about ? I have all but put my speech into my letter. To return to our passage of arms. My pretty boy gets up, and attacks me for having been at Baiae. (This was not true, but how do you think I retorted?) ‘Why it looks,’ said I, ‘as if you were accusing me of being there *under a veil*?’

‘What,’ says he, ‘could a rustic of Arpinum find to do at a Spa?’

‘Tell that,’ quoth I, ‘to your kind patron, who was anxious enough to get some springs from a person of Arpinum.’ (Of course you know all about those sea-baths?⁶)

‘How long,’ he bursts out, ‘shall we let this man be king?’

‘What? do you talk of a king,’ say I, ‘when there was a King who left you entirely out of his will?’ (He, you know, had greedily anticipated a legacy to come to him from a person of that name.⁷)

‘You have bought a palace,’ says he.

⁶ Either Curio the elder (Watson, Tyrrell), or his son (Pretor, compare Letter vii. 5), had bought an estate once belonging to Marius (who like Cicero came from Arpinum) at Baiae. Mr. Watson retains *marinas*, but *marianas* is a far more pointed reading. I cannot discover what Mr. Froude (Caesar, p. 179) means by his rendering ‘Cicero reminded Clodius of a misadventure among the pirates (!).’

⁷ His brother-in-law, Quintius Marcius Rex.

'One would fancy it was a jury,' quoth I, 'you were saying I had bought?'

'They would not believe you,' says he, 'on your oath.'

'Nay,' I reply, 'twenty-five of the jurors did credit me, while thirty-one had their money down beforehand; so they entirely refused, it seems, to give you any credit.' Overwhelmed then by the shouts that arose he broke down, and had not a word to answer.

11 As to my own position, it is this: among the respectable classes I am just as when you left; among the filth and dregs of town much better off now than when you left; for this has certainly done me no harm, that my evidence should be seen to have been ineffectual.⁸ My swelling of unpopularity has been let blood without hurting, and all the more because even the supporters of that iniquity acknowledge that it was a perfectly clear case, bought from the jury. There is, besides, the fact that our rabble of treasury horse-leeches, the starveling, miserable mob, imagine me to be immensely esteemed by 'the Great' man: and, upon my word, we are really united together by frequent and pleasant ties of intimacy; so much so that the reckless scamps of the conspiracy, the young fellows with those tiny beards, call him familiarly Gnaeus Cicero.⁹ And so both at the games and the gladiators' shows we came off with astonishing *éclat*, without any *charivari* of 'goosing' at all.

12 Now we are all looking forward to the elections, for which our friend 'the great' Pompeius, much to everybody's disgust, is pushing that 'Aulus junior,'¹⁰ and fighting for him not by authority or influence, but by the means with which Philip used to say that any fort could be taken [up to which you could drive an ass laden with gold]. They say too that our worthy consul has undertaken to play second fiddle in this farce,¹¹ and has the people in his own house to distribute money; which

⁸ See note to Letter ix. 5.

⁹ Mommsen does not find it necessary to adopt Cicero's interpretation. 'He (Pompeius) vacillated with so much uncertainty between the parties that people gave him the nickname of Gnaeus Cicero,' iv. 194.

¹⁰ See note to Letter i. § 1.

¹¹ 'Deterioris *histrionis*' must mean, if anything, that he was willing to be the δευτεραγωνίστης to Pompeius and play into his hands. But 'Doterionis,' a coined name for a dispenser of bribes, finds much support, and '*histrionis*'

I for one do not believe. But two bills have lately been passed in the Senate on the motion of Domitius and Cato, which are much objected to because they are supposed to be directed against the consul: one that special powers should be given for searching the houses of magistrates;¹² the other that any one who harboured bribery-agents in his house should be held guilty of a treasonable offence. But Lurco the tribune,¹³ who took office under the obligations of the act of Aelius,¹³ was exempted from the operation of both that and Fufius's act in order to carry his bill about bribery; which, lame as the man is, he has succeeded in introducing without getting the auspices vitiated. So the election has been postponed till the 27th of July. The bill contains this novelty, that any one who has promised money to the tribes shall not be liable to any penalty, provided he has not paid it: but if he has paid it, shall forfeit £25 to each tribe for the period of his natural life. My remark was that this law had been scrupulously kept by Clodius already, even before it was passed, for it was just

is then probably an allusion to the two actors Aristodemus and Neoptolemus (Demosth. De Fals. Leg. p. 442; Cicero, De Rep. iv. 35), who conducted negotiations on behalf of Philip.

¹² This is the usual interpretation of a passage, which Mr. Pretor proposes to render 'that a commission of enquiry shall be held before the proper authorities.' He objects to the rendering in the text: (1) that it makes the two clauses almost identical; (2) that the measure in question is referred to (Ad Att. i. 17, 8) as '*ut de eis . . . quaereretur.*' Neither of these objections seems conclusive; while, on the other hand, the meaning which we should then have to give to '*liceret*' is surely inadmissible; *i.e.* not that inquiry *may* be held, but that it *shall* be held before magistrates. Boot proposes to read '*et*' for '*alterum*', making the exemption of Lurco the second decree. But this, besides being an unwarrantable alteration, leaves no antithesis to '*unum*', but the weak one of '*audem*'.

¹³ Mr. Munro states in a note appended to Mr. Pretor's that 'the Medicean reading is *insimul cum*, not *simul cum*, of which the following is a simple and perhaps not unsatisfactory correction: *qui magistratum insimulatum lege Aelia initit*; "who entered upon a magistracy impeached by the Lex Aelia." This is by far the best of the many corrections proposed. The acts of Aelius and Fufius, about 150 B.C., were a check on the power of the *plebs*, by giving all magistrates a right to dissolve the comitia by *obnuntiatio*, or a declaration that the omens were unfavourable. The suspension of these laws was necessary to enable Lurco to propose his Bribery Bill without organised obstruction, and as personal defects were generally thought inauspicious, Cicero means that Lurco's lameness might have been expected to vitiate the auspices, but that nobody put a veto on his proposal.'

his way to promise and not to pay. But, mark you! even my consulship, which Curio used once to call '*l'apothéose du consulat*,' if this fellow be elected will seem like having played at being in office.¹⁴ So, I suppose, like you *il faut se faire philosophie*, and not care a straw for all your consulships.

14 As to the decision you say you have made, not to start for Asia, I myself could have wished you to go, and I fear that in the end it may lead to something awkward in that matter of yours: still I cannot blame your choice, especially as I myself
15 have not gone to a province. I shall be quite content with the inscriptions you have assigned to me in your Shrine of Amalthea,¹⁵ particularly since Thyillus has deserted me, while Archias has written nothing about me, and having finished his Greek poem on the Luculli is, I fear, now thinking of a
16 'Caecilian drama.'¹⁶ I thanked Antonius for you, and gave that letter to Mallius: (the only reason why I did not write oftener to you before was that I had no proper person to entrust a letter to, nor was I quite sure to what address I
17 ought to send). I have puffed you well. If Cincius should commission me with any business for you, I will undertake it, but just now he is more occupied with his own, in which I am helping him. You may expect, if you are going to stay in one place, to have numerous letters from me, but be sure you send me more yourself in return. I wish you would write to me what sort of place your '*Amaltheum*' really is, what are its fittings and what its *orientement*; and would also send me poems or legends of any kind you have about your goddess herself: I have a fancy for a sacrifice¹⁷ at my place at Arpinum. I will send you something of my own writings: at present there is nothing finished.

¹⁴ *Fabam mimum* is a very doubtful reading, but the numerous emendations proposed are not convincing. If genuine, it seems to be an allusion to children playing (*mimum*) at electing a king with beans (*fabam*): a 'Twelfth Night royalty' (Watson). Several editors read *fabulam mimum*, a play that is a mere farce; others *famam mimum*, Glory, 'a farce.' See Additional Notes at end.

¹⁵ Compare Letter vi. § 1.

¹⁶ The poem Archias is thinking of is one in honour of Quintus Caecilius Metellus, which Cicero calls a 'Caecilian drama,' in allusion to the famous comedian Caecilius.

¹⁷ See Additional Notes.

IX. (AD ATT. II. I.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

June, 694 A.V.C. (60 B.C.)

After his acquittal, Clodius obtained the sanction of a popular vote to his adoption into a plebeian family, with the object of rendering himself eligible as a tribune of the people. This is generally represented merely as a step to gratify his personal animosity against Cicero, a view which is vigorously controverted by Prof. Beesly, Clodius, p. 67, who maintains that Clodius was the agent of the triumvirs in exacting retribution for the illegal execution of Catilina's confederates. Compare Mommsen, iv. 207; Merivale, i. 161; Forsyth, 155; Trollope i. ch. ii.

This is the first letter of Cicero's in which Caesar is mentioned as being in a prominent position, though it was written about the time of the formation of the first triumvirate. See Introd. to the next letter.

On the first of June, as I was starting for Antium, and I very glad to be turning my back on Metellus's exhibition of gladiators, I met your messenger. He gave me a letter from you, and a memoir of my consulship written in Greek: whereupon I congratulated myself that long before this I had given Cossinius my treatise on the same subject, also in Greek, to take to you; because had I read yours first you would be accusing me of having pilfered from you. And yet your notes —for I read them with delight—did seem to me perhaps a trifle rough and unadorned, but still not without a certain attractiveness, from their very refusal of borrowed attractions, and, as they say of women, 'all the sweeter from having no added sweets.'¹ Whereas my book, besides exhausting Isocrates's dressing-case, and all the rouge-pots of his school, had a touch of Aristotle's colouring as well.² You dipped hastily into it (as I understand from another letter of yours) at Corcyra, but afterwards, I suppose, had a copy sent you through Cossinius. I should not have ventured to send it to you unless I had found leisure to revise it minutely and critically. And yet the answer I have just had from Posidonius at Rhodes is 2 that on reading the *mémoire* I sent him for a more elaborate work from his pen on the same theme, so far from finding

¹ *Ecastor, mulier recte olet ubi nil olet.* Plaut. Most. i. 3, 116.

² See note on *ληκύθιον*, Letter vii. 3; and on Letter xxix. 23.

himself more disposed to write, he has been fairly disengaged. The fact is, that I have taken the Greek population utterly aback, so that for the most part those who were very pressing for me to give them some notes to elaborate, have now desisted from persecuting me. Will you be good enough, if you find you like the book, to take care that it makes its way to Athens and the other towns of Greece, because I think it may possibly shed some lustre on my whole **3** policy? As for my ‘speechlets,’ such as they are,³ I will send those you ask for, and some others too, since it seems that what I put into writing from interest in the enthusiasm of my pupils, can give pleasure to you too. The fact is, that just as in old times your great countryman [Demosthenes] gained lustre by his series of speeches which we call Philippics, and detached himself from our quibbling style of pleading in the courts in favour of the higher rôle of the *homme d'état*, so it suited my purpose to prepare a similar collection of my own, to be entitled ‘Consular speeches.’ One of these was delivered in the Senate on the 1st of January; the second was an address to the people on the agrarian law; the third is on Otho;⁴ the fourth my defence of Rabirius;⁵ the fifth about the sons of persons proscribed; the sixth is my public renunciation of the right to a province;⁶ the seventh is the one

³ Mr. Watson understands the diminutive as an affected depreciation; but perhaps Billerbeck's explanation is preferable, of short exercises in declamation, as ‘fair copies’ for pupils.

⁴ The celebrated act of Lucius Roscius Otho reserving the first fourteen rows in the Circus to the *equites*, with a qualification of property of 400,000 sesterces (£3500), caused a popular riot, being a distinct recognition of income alone as determining a class. Cicero addressed the people in favour of the law, which was, of course, very acceptable to the favoured class, his policy being to draw the *equites* into alliance with the majority of the senate. Cic. Mur. 19; Phil. ii. 18; Hor. Epode iv. 16; Juv. xiv. 324.

⁵ The trial of Rabirius is very important, because it finally disposes, and in Cicero's own consulship, of the legal plea for the Catilinarian conspirators' execution. He was accused of the murder of Saturninus forty years before in an insurrection, and the trial involved the whole question whether the Senate could give the power of life and death over Roman citizens. This was settled in the negative by his virtual condemnation, which was only averted by a constitutional fiction, probably acquiesced in by both sides. Mommsen, iv. 159; Merivale, i. 103; Long, iii. 262; Forsyth, 101; Trollope, i. 380; Froude, Caesar, p. 142. Mr. Froude very carelessly states that Rabirius was acquitted.

⁶ See Letter v. § 8.

by which I opened the gate for Catilina ; the eighth I addressed to the people the day after his flight ; the ninth was delivered in the assembly on the day when the Allobroges made their appeal;⁷ and the tenth in the Senate on the 5th of December. There are besides two short ones, *échantillons*, if I may so call them, of the Agrarian law. This *corpus orationum mearum* I will take care that you have ; and since you feel interested not only in my writings but my actions, you will find in these speeches a full account of what I have been doing as well as what I have been saying. Otherwise you would not have asked for them : it was not I, you know, who tried to thrust myself upon you.

You ask me why I write for you to come here, and imply ⁴ at the same time that you are much hindered by business, though you do not refuse to come if it be really necessary, or even if I press the point. Well, the truth is that there is no positive necessity ; but still it did seem to me that you might arrange the time for your various tours abroad more conveniently. You are too long away at a time, especially considering that you are really near : and so while I miss your companionship, you have to do without me. And though just now, it is true, all is quiet, yet if the madness of that pretty youth were allowed to go but a step or two further, I should most decidedly summon you from your retreat. But Metellus keeps him finely in check, and will still do so. He, for the matter of that, is a consul who is really *ami de la patrie*, and, as I have always held, naturally well disposed. That other personage is aiming however, not in bravado but ⁵ quite seriously, at being elected tribune of the people. When this question was brought on for discussion in the Senate I smashed the fellow, severely exposing his sudden conversion in becoming a candidate for the tribuneship, whereas in Sicily he had frequently stated that his object was the aedileship ; not that we, I remarked, need trouble ourselves overmuch ; he might become a plebeian, but he would no more be allowed to bring us to ruin than the patricians of his type had been

⁷ This word is doubtful. *Involgarunt* and *indicarunt* (= made their disclosures) have been suggested. See Letter xiv. § 1. The last four of these speeches are the extant ones against Catilina.

allowed in my consulship. So again, when the same personage declared he had travelled here in six days from the Channel, leaving no one time so much as to come out and meet him, and that he had made his entry by night, and actually ventured to boast of this in the Senate, I retorted that for him it was no such unheard-of thing to travel to Rōme from Sicily in six days; within three hours he had reached Rome from Interamna.⁸ Had he entered in the dead of night? So had he done before. Had no one come to give him a reception? No more had they even when there was very good reason for doing so. In a word, I am giving his insolence a good lesson, not merely by serious and elaborate speeches, but by this kind of repartee. So now I use a tone of bantering familiarity with him to his face. Once even, when we were escorting our candidate home, he asks me, ‘Do you usually reserve your Sicilian clients a place at the games? No? Well, then,’ says he, ‘I being their new patron shall start the idea, though my sister, who has so much of the consul’s space at her disposal, only allows me just one foot.’ ‘Oh, don’t complain,’ quoth I, ‘of your sister giving you only one foot; I am sure she would let *you* take more than one foot of hers.⁹ Not the retort for a consul, you will say. I plead guilty, but I cannot stand that woman, so unfit as she is to be a consul’s wife. She is ‘intolerably curst, and shrewd and forward:¹⁰ she is at daggers-drawn now with her husband Metellus, and not only with him but Fabius too,

⁸ Clodius endeavoured on his trial to establish an alibi, affirming that he had been at Interamna, sixty miles off, at the time, while Cicero swore that he had seen him in Rome three hours before the occurrence. All these repartees refer to Clodius’s intrusion on the mysteries at Caesar’s house. (Letters vi. vii. viii.)

⁹ See Letter xxix. § 15, and on the notorious Clodia, Letter v. note 1. The retort, which Cicero has the grace to be a little ashamed of, though he cannot resist repeating it, is based on the fact that *pedes tollere* was a very coarse phrase = *stuprare*. Of course it always gives great delight to Martial, x. 81; xi. 71. It is well to remember that bad as Clodia certainly was, Cicero’s vulgar taunt affords no shadow of presumption against her of the crime hinted at. See Beesly, Catiline, p. 20, for a vigorous description of the unlimited and well-understood license of accusation against opponents usual at Rome.

¹⁰ Taming of the Shrew, i. 2. Prof. Tyrrell points out that *ea seditionis ea cum viro bellum gerit* is probably from some comedy.

because she is so displeased with them for playing a part in this.

As for the Agrarian law about which you ask me, as a 6 matter of fact it seems now to have cooled down. Since you lecture me, though your handling somehow seems very gentle, about my intimacy with Pompeius, I should not like you to imagine that I ally myself to him only to secure my own protection ; but things were so circumstanced, that if there chanced to be any disagreement between us, most serious party dissensions must have become prevalent. Now I have guarded against the danger beforehand with all this precaution, not at all that I myself may begin to decline from those high principles of policy, but that I may make him inclined to better things, and to lay aside much of his weak popular subserviency. And you should know that he speaks in far higher terms of my policy, which so many people were urging him to attack, than of his own : what he claims for himself is that he has guided the State, for me that I have saved it. How far his doing this is an advantage to me I cannot tell, unquestionably it is an advantage to the country. Supposing I bring over Caesar too, who is now sailing triumphantly before the breeze, to the better side, am I then greatly injuring the constitutional cause ? I will go farther than this. Even if no one were 7 jealous of me, even if all supported me as they ought to do, we ought none the less to adopt any system of treatment which would heal the unsound members of the State in preference to one which would cut them off. But now when all our chivalry, all the men whom once I posted on the slopes of the Capitol under your standard, have left the Senate to fight alone ; when our nobles think they have all but reached the skies if they have red mullet¹¹ in their fish-ponds that will come to be fed, and deem everything else trifling in comparison, do you not think I am doing considerable service if I succeed in taking the will for mischief from those who have the power ? Not that you yourself can love Cato more than 8 I do, but still at times, with the very best intentions and the

¹¹ The *mullus barbatus* of naturalists is the plain red mullet, distinguished from our common or striped red mullet (*mullus surmuletus*). All kinds of mullet have two long barbules on the under jaw. Compare Pliny, H. N. ix. 30.

most stainless honour, he does positive harm to his country : for he talks as though we were living in Plato's Utopia and not, as we are, in the Rogues' Asylum of Romulus. What can be fairer than that a man should be brought to trial who has taken a bribe to pervert judgment ? So urged Cato, and the Senate assented. Result—a war of the middle class against the Senate ; not against me, for I expressed my dissent. What more outrageous than the tax-farmers repudiating their contract ? Yet the prudent course was to submit to the loss, and so retain the goodwill of that class. Cato fought against this and carried his point, the consequence being now that with a consul flung into prison,¹² and with seditious movements stirring again and again, not one would give us a good wish of the very men by whose readiness to rally round us both I and the consuls who followed me always kept the constitution impregnable. ‘What then,’ you will say, ‘are we to buy the support of your friends ? What must we do if we cannot help ourselves ? Are we to be at the beck of freedmen, ay, and of slaves ? But, as you say, enough of the *grand sérieux*.

9 Favonius has carried my tribe with more flying colours than his own, but has lost Luceceius's. He has prosecuted Scipio, and straightforwardly enough, it is true, but grinding his words in such a way that one would fancy that when at Rhodes he had to grind in some mill which was not Molon's mill.¹³ To me, for having undertaken the defence, he was mildly reproachful. But now he is again a candidate —only for the public good ! What Luceceius is about I will let you know as soon as I have seen Caesar, who will be here **10** in a couple of days. For the Sicyonians keeping you out of your due you may thank Cato, and Servilius, who apes him.¹⁴

¹² The consul Metellus Celer was imprisoned by the tribune Flavius for opposing the Agrarian law. Merivale, i. 163.

¹³ Molon was a noted Rhodian teacher of rhetoric who had Cicero and Caesar among his pupils. *Molis* is of course a pun on *Moloni*, and *moleste*, if that be read ; grinding at the mill was a punishment of slaves. Prof. Tyrrell retains the MS. reading *inhoneste ac modeste tamen*. Mr. Pretor puts a stop after *inhoneste* and omits *ac*.

¹⁴ Servilius and Cato had carried a decree against the violent methods employed by powerful Romans for recovery of alleged debts from provincials and free states. Compare the terribly significant story of Cicero and Brutus, Letter xxxvi. 10.

Well, does not that blow touch many a good citizen? How ever, the Senate has so pleased, therefore let us assent: only then we must make up our minds to be left alone in any future division of opinion.¹⁵ My Amalthea is awaiting you, and much wants your advice.¹⁶ I am charmed with my places 11 at Tusculum and Pompeii, except that I find (I, who am known as the champion of creditors!) how they swallow up loads of good metal, not so much in Corinthian bronze, as in the humbler medium of the exchange. We have hopes that all is quiet in Gaul. You may expect my book on 'Prognostics'¹⁷ almost immediately, with the speechlets: but do write what are your intentions about coming, for Pomponia desired a message to be sent to me that you would be at Rome in July, which does not agree with the letter you sent me about the census. Paetus, as I told you before, has given me the books 12 he believes his brother¹⁸ has left. Whether I ever get this present depends now on your looking after it. I implore you to see that they are kept safe and brought to me; nothing could oblige me more than this: and will you be careful to keep his Greek books, and still more particularly his Latin ones? This I shall take as your little contribution. I have written to Octavius.¹⁹ I did not speak to him personally: indeed I did not know that your business had anything to do with the province, nor did I venture to class you among the paltrier tribe that 'breed of barren metal;' but I have written to him, as in duty bound, very strongly.

¹⁵ *Discessio* is apparently not used here in its ordinary sense of divisions in the Senate. The Medicean MS. has *dissensionibus*.

¹⁶ Compare Letters vi. 1; viii. 18.

¹⁷ A translation of the Diogeneia of Aratus, a poem still extant. In it occurs the line *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*, quoted by St. Paul, Acts xvii. 28.

¹⁸ Servius Claudius. On *frater*, see Letter i. note 8.

¹⁹ Gaius Octavius, father of the emperor Augustus, now Governor of Macedonia.

X. (AD ATT. II. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in May, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

Soon after the date of the last letter Atticus returned to Rome, so that there is here a gap of several months in the correspondence. Meanwhile at Rome events had moved fast. In the summer of 60 B.C. the celebrated cabal of Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus, generally known as the first triumvirate, was formed; a coalition which was entirely to the advantage of Caesar, who now began to overshadow his rival. For the next year Caesar was elected consul; the aristocratic party succeeding by lavish bribery in procuring the election also of the dull-witted Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, whose helpless opposition to his colleague was popularly satirised by calling it the consulship of Julius and Caesar. Caesar then lost no time in proposing an Agrarian law, entrusting to a commission of twenty the division of the State lands, particularly in Campania, among the veterans of Pompeius and large numbers of the poorer citizens. This was rejected by the Senate, but forced through on appeal to the people, and the humiliation of the Senate was complete. The cabal was in fact an usurpation of absolute power, and cleared the way for the coming monarchy. See Mommsen, iv. 196-206; Merivale, i. 166-175; Forsyth, c. 11; Trollope, i. ch. 11.

In April, Cicero left Antium, where he had been, for his villa at Formiae. Tradition assigns several villas here to him.

On the last day of April, as I was just dropping off to sleep after dinner, your letter on the subject of the Campanian land-division was brought to me. Well, at first it startled me so as to put an end to sleep, but this more from thinking than uneasiness. And the result of my thinking comes pretty much to this. First, from what you said in a previous letter—that you had heard from an intimate friend of his¹ that a measure was to be brought forward which nobody would disapprove of—I had apprehended a more heroic scheme. This one seems to me not at all of that kind. Secondly, it is comforting to me to see how all the hopes of a distribution of land are now diverted towards Campania. Now this tract, even assuming that they only get six acres apiece,² cannot possibly provide for more than five thousand men; the rest of the crowd of expectants must perforce be disappointed by them. Moreover, if there is any single thing calculated more than another to stir the indignation of good citizens (who I

¹ Caesar's.² The *iugerum*, 240 feet × 120 = about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre.

see are already roused to action), it is this: and all the more because, as the customs in Italian ports are abolished and the Campanian lands divided, what home revenues have we left, except the five per cent tax?³ and I suppose even that will be swept away, if one trumpety speech has been made against it, by the clamour of our quondam lackeys. What our friend Pompeius may be ultimately intending I declare outright I do not know, seeing it has been found possible to induce him to go as far as this; but

‘He plays no more on tiny treble reeds,
Now with wild blast uncurbed the bag-pipe blares.’⁴

For up to now he has availed himself of some *chicane*—as to answer that he must give his sanction to Caesar’s laws, while it was for Caesar himself to be responsible for the means of carrying them; that he had accepted the principle of an Agrarian law, but whether a veto was possible or not had nothing to do with him; that he approved of a settlement being at length agreed to about the king of Alexandria,⁵ but whether Bibulus had really on that occasion watched for omens in the sky or not it was not his business to inquire; as to the tax-farmers, he had always been anxious to do their class any service; he could not possibly have foreseen what would be the result if Bibulus had come down that day to the Forum. O great Pasha,⁶ I wonder what you will say now? That you have found us new revenues on Anti-Lebanon, if you have taken away that of the Campanian lands? Why, how will you make this good? I will keep you down, says he, by means of Caesar’s army. No; I swear to you you will not be doing it so much by that army of yours, as by the ingratitude of those men who call themselves good citizens, but have never showed me the least gratitude, even in a word of the

³ A tax of that amount on the value of slaves who received their freedom.

⁴ Sophocles, Fragn. 753. The *φορβεῖα*, Lat. *capistrum*, was a sort of mouth-band, intended to modulate the tones of the player.

⁵ The claims of the illegitimate Ptolemaeus XI., called Auletes (the flute-player), were disputed by the Alexandrians, and only recognised by the Senate after enormous bribery. He was subsequently expelled by his subjects; see Introd. to Letter xxi.

⁶ Samipsiceramus, the emir or pasha of Emesa in Syria, had been conquered by Pompeius, who is frequently nicknamed after him by Cicero.

thanks which are my due, much less in substantial rewards.
 3 Why, if I were to bestir myself against that party, I should undoubtedly find some way of checking them. Now I have quite made up my mind that since the difference of opinion between your favourite Dicaearchus and my friend Theophrastus is so wide, that while your philosopher places the life of 'action' far above all others, mine gives no less preference to the life of 'contemplation,'—I must have bowed the knee to both. Dicaearchus's opinion, you will admit, I have exemplified more than enough; I am now looking wistfully to the other's school, which not only allows me to take some rest, but blames me for not having been always at rest. So, my dear Titus, let us come back at length to those glorious pursuits of old, back to the path which we should never have left.
 4 What you say about my brother Quintus's letter is just what he was to me too—

‘Prima leo, postrema—!’⁷

I do not know what to call it; for while in his first lines he deplores his long absence enough to make anybody pity him, he presently relaxes so far as to ask me to revise and edit his journals for him. Will you attend though to the point about which he writes, the claim for port-dues on bonded goods?⁸ He says, in accordance with the advice of his council, he has referred the matter to the Senate. Apparently he had not yet read my letter, in which I answered him, after careful consideration and inquiry, that the tax is not legally due. I should like you to see any Greeks who have come from Asia to Rome about the matter, and if you think good, point out to them what my opinion on the question is. If I can back out of my opinion, rather than that the good cause should be lost in the Senate I will make a concession to the tax-farmers: *autrement* I tell you frankly in this matter I prefer the interests of the whole of Asia and the large dealers; for the question is of very great importance to them too. This I

⁷ Lucr. v. 903, which is itself a rendering of Homer's description of the Chimaera, Iliad, vi. 181, quoted by Cicero. He only means that the beginning and end of the letter differed widely.

⁸ Boot explains the word as a duty on goods re-exported in default of a purchaser, which was claimed by the tax-farmers.

feel to be absolutely essential for us ; but I will leave it to you. Then as to the paymasters, surely they cannot be still disputing about the currency?⁹ If we can get nothing better after trying all expedients, I for one should not despise even their ‘*cistophorus*’ in the last resource.

I expect to see you at my place at Arpinum, and give you a country-house entertainment, since you have turned up your nose at my seaside one here.

XI. (AD ATT. II. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS, PROBABLY AT BUTHROTUM.

May or June, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

Statius was a favourite slave of Quintus Cicero who was thought to have undue influence over his master. Hence his manumission seems to have caused much unfavourable criticism ; showing already the rise of that dislike of freed-men-favourites which became so marked under the empire.

From this and other letters it would seem that Cicero believed, or perhaps only tried to persuade himself (see Introd. to Letter xv.), that the triumvirs (*populares isti*) were highly unpopular, and Bibulus and Curio the idols of the people. This is of course impossible, though no doubt there were some among the lower orders who grumbled because their extravagant expectations had not been fulfilled, and thus confirmed the idea that a popular reaction was really spreading. The resentment of the *equites* (xii. § 3) is curious, if truly reported, seeing that they were much courted by the triumvirs. It may have been a mere momentary outburst if they were believed to content themselves with the repeal of the Roscian Act (Letter ix. note 4), which was highly popular of course with the *equites*, but fiercely resented by the excluded classes. Prof. H. Pelham suggests in Mr. Watson's edition, that *equites* here represents *equitum centuriae*, which were mainly composed of young patricians. But surely this is impossible where no qualification whatever is hinted at by the context. The truth seems rather to be that Cicero's report of the demonstrations in the theatre proves very little. As Prof. Beesly remarks : ‘Probably Cicero sitting among the senators in the stalls tried to persuade himself that their petulance was a sample of popular feeling.’—Clodius, 68.

I have received several letters from you, which showed me ¹ the suspense and anxiety with which you were longing to hear

⁹ This dispute is similar to our Anglo-Indian one about the depreciation of silver and the rupee. The *cistophorus*, a coin of Asia Minor, so called because it was stamped with the sacred ark of Ceres, was intrinsically worth 3 *denarii* (2s. 2d.) but was counted as only 2½.—Mommsen, iv. 454. But the actual value of the coin is very uncertain. The Dict. Ant., following Hussey, gives it as 7½d. The paymasters wished to pay Quintus Cicero his salary in *cistophori* at their nominal value, without allowing for the depreciation.

if there was any news. We are hemmed in on all sides, and no longer rebel against our bondage, but dread death and expulsion, things that in reality are smaller evils, as though they were greater: in fact, our position is one which all unanimously bemoan, and not one has a single word to relieve. The *visée* of our lords and masters, I take it, is to leave nothing to any one else for giving away. One man only—young Curio—breaks the silence and withstands them to the face. He receives the loudest applause, and most gratifying demonstrations whenever he appears in public, and numerous testimonies too of goodwill from all honest citizens; while Fusius is assailed with shouts and jeers and hisses. All this does not increase one's hopes, but only one's bitterness, to see the people's
2 inclination so free, their manliness so tied. Well, to save you from having to ask about all the details *seriatim*, things on the whole have come to this, that there is no hope, even of magistrates, not to speak of private individuals, remaining free for any length of time. Still, under all this oppression, speech is freer, at least in the clubs or over the dinner-table, than it was. Indignation begins to get the upper hand of fear, yet not enough to save us from general despondency. Moreover, there is appended to the Campanian law a denunciation to be imprecated in public by the candidates upon themselves, if they should propose any scheme of distributing the land other than that of Caesar's act. Everybody else is quite ready to swear to it; but Laterensis is considered to have acted splendidly in withdrawing from his candidature for the tribuneship,
3 rather than take the oath. But I cannot bear to write any more about our country; I am only worrying myself, and cannot write without extreme pain. I hold my own, not discreditably, considering how everybody is trodden down, but with little heart, considering what has been my past career.

Caesar is inviting me with much generosity to accept a place on his staff; or again, I have the offer of an honorary ambassadorship, nominally to discharge a vow. But the latter affords insufficient protection when you think of the scrupulous delicacy of my young friend, the Beauty,¹ and also

¹ Compare Letter viii. § 10.

sends me off on a mission just when my brother is coming home: the former is not only safer, but gives me liberty to be here when I choose. This post I hold in reserve, though I do not think I shall avail myself of it; but yet nobody knows. I hate running away, and long to fight it out. People show great enthusiasm for me. Still I cannot positively state anything. You will not mention this.

About the manumission of Statius² and several other ⁴ things I am sorry, of course, but I have now grown quite thick-skinned. I wish you, I may say I pine for you to be here; then I should never want for advice or consolation. But hold yourself in readiness, so that if I call out for you you may fly to my side.

XII. (AD ATT. II. 19.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

I have much to make me anxious, not only in such a ¹ public crisis, but in the perils with which I am personally threatened, and they may be counted by the hundred; yet nothing troubles me more than this manumission of Statius.

'What! when I bid him—well, let bidding be:
Say my displeasure—that then goes for nought!'¹

I do not know what to do; though really there is not so much in the matter as rumour has it. But I cannot even get into a rage with those whom I dearly love; I am only sorry, yes, you would be surprised how sorry. My other troubles, for such important matters—the threats of Clodius and the struggles I see ahead—do not affect me much; in fact, I am assured I could bear them with unimpaired dignity, or step out of their way without mortification. Very likely you will say, '*le siècle du gland est passé,*'²—'enough now of your

² Compare the next Letter, § 1.

¹ A quotation from Terence, *Phormio*, ii. 1. 2.

² Cicero is alluding apparently to some Greek proverb about men abandoning acorns when they could get better food. The French proverb, 'Le siècle

dignity ; think, an you love me, of your safety.' Oh dear me ! why are you not here ? Nothing, I know, would escape you : possibly I am getting '*myope*', and am too '*passionné pour l'honneur*'.³ Believe me, there never was in this world anything so disgraceful, so abject, so thoroughly loathed with perfect unanimity by men of every party, every order, every age, as the present state of things ; more, I solemnly declare to you, than I could wish, not only more than I had expected. Those 'friends of the people' have now made even the moderates begin to hiss them. Bibulus is lauded to the skies, though why I do not quite know, just as though he were

'That one man whose wise delay
Restored to us the fortunes of the day.'⁴

Pompeius, my hero, has—and this gives me the deepest pain—completely extinguished himself. He has not a man attached to him. I fear they may find it necessary to resort to force. For myself, while I do not attack their cause, for the sake of my old friendship, neither on the other hand can I support it, lest I should seem to be stultifying all my former acts : I take the high road. The popular feeling is most plainly shown at the theatre and the games ; in fact, at a show of gladiators master⁵ and supporters alike provoked a storm of hisses. At the games of Apollo, Diphilus the actor went out of his way to make an attack on our friend Pompeius.

'Our tears have bought the greatness of thy name'

he was called upon to repeat over and over again ; while

'A time will come when thou shalt rue that power,'

he declaimed amid shouts of applause from the whole theatre,

du gland est passé, vous donnerez du pain aux hommes,' which is an almost exact equivalent, is found in a letter of Voltaire's to M. de la Chalotais.

³ These phrases seem to be quoted from the letter of Atticus.

⁴ This is a celebrated line of Ennius on Quintus Fabius Maximus, called the Delayer because his tactics of always avoiding an encounter exhausted Hannibal's strength.

⁵ *Dominus* may perhaps refer to the person who provided the show, who was probably Gabinius. Mr. Watson thinks it means Caesar, but I agree with Prof. Tyrrell that Pompeius is far more likely to be meant at this period by the name. As he says, 'Caesar's contemporaries stood too near the canvas rightly to appreciate the proportions of the colossus.'

and so on to the end of the passage. The lines in fact are such that one might fancy they were written for the occasion by a personal enemy of Pompeius.

'If thee nor law nor duty can restrain,'

with what follows, we had recited amid shouts and uproar.⁶ The applause showed no sign of reviving when Caesar entered ; but he was followed by the younger Curio, who was cheered as much as Pompeius used to be cheered once, while our country was still free. Caesar was seriously annoyed. They say that a letter flew post-haste to Pompeius at Capua. They are angry with the *equites*, who stood up to applaud Curio ; but open enemies to all of us. They were supposed to be threatening the Act of Roscius, and even the corn-law ; in fact, there was a regular riot. For my part I had rather that their proposed measures should be silently submitted to, but this I fear will not be allowed ; people refuse to put up with things it seems they must put up with. But now you hear only one expression of opinion from everybody, rather emboldened by hatred than confidence in military strength. Meanwhile,⁴ our dear friend Publius is threatening me ; he means mischief. Some trouble is impending in which I am sure you will fly to me. I seem to have safely assured for my side that army of all the good citizens (and even the moderately good ones), which was the glory of my consulship. Pompeius shows his regard for me very strongly ; at the same time he declares that the fellow will not venture on a word against me : not that in this he wishes to mislead me, but he is himself misled. Cosconius being dead, I have been asked to fill his place.⁷ That is, I am called on to step into the shoes of a dead man ! People would look on me as the basest of creatures, nor could anything be less calculated to secure me even that *abri* against risk you keep insisting on : for those men being regarded with dislike by the good citizens, I should, without

⁶ 'In Paris, during the hottest period of the Revolution, the reactionists for the most part had it their own way at the theatres.'—Beesly, Clodius, 68. But see Introd. to Letter xi.

⁷ Gaius Cosconius was a member of the Commission of Twenty for dividing the Campanian lands.—Introd. to Letter x.

losing my own unpopularity with the bad, be taking other
5 people's upon my shoulders. Caesar wants me to be on his staff. This is a more respectable way of avoiding the danger ; but I am not inclined to shirk it. What is it to be then ? My vote is for fighting, but nothing has been finally settled. Again I repeat, 'Oh that you were here !' but still I will send for you if it be necessary. What more can I have to say, then ? I have just this much, I think—we are now certain that all is lost. What is the good of coquetting⁸ with the truth so long ? Still I am only writing this in haste, and faith 'tis not without some apprehension. Later on I will either tell you plainly if I can get a thoroughly safe person to entrust a letter to ; or if I have to write ambiguously, still you will see what I mean. In these letters I shall put Laelius for myself, and Furius for you ; all other things too shall be *en mots couverts*. While here I am very polite to Caecilius, and pay much attention to him. I hear the edicts of Bibulus⁹ have been sent to you. Our friend Pompeius is boiling with rage and vexation about them.

XIII. (AD ATT. II. 24.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July or August, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

The true story of the plot described in this letter is almost impossible to discover. One Lucius Vettius, an informer employed by Caesar, told the younger Curio that he had determined to kill Pompeius, and according to one account Caesar also. On being arrested he contradicted most of the prominent members of the senatorial party, including the consul Bibulus, with complicity in the plot. But in examination he contradicted himself so grossly that he was thrown into prison, and privately strangled, no doubt by the contrivers of the plot, whoever they were. On this point there is a great difference of opinion among authorities. Mommsen and Abeken regard it as an intrigue of the triumvirs to get rid of their strongest opponents, and so do Cicero himself, Suetonius, and Plutarch. Napoleon III. (Caesar, i. p. 405), and Mr. Long believe that it was devised by some adherents of the triumvirs, such as Vatinius,

⁸ Suidas explains ἀκκώ as a vain coy woman, and this best suits the sense of ἀκκίζομαι. See Thompson's note on Plato, Gorgias, p. 497. Lidd. and Scott, however, render it 'hobgoblin, bugbear' ; = 'playing at Bogy.'

⁹ Bibulus issued numerous edicts to declare Caesar's acts null and void, of which Caesar took not the faintest notice.

then a tribune, without the knowledge of their chiefs, and this Mr. Watson thinks not improbable. Dean Merivale and Prof. Tyrrell (doubtfully) regard it as a genuine plot of the optimates, which is the view of Dion Cassius (who ascribes it to Cicero himself!) and of Appian. Mr. Pretor suggests Clodius as the real author. See Mommsen, iv. 206; Merivale, i. 176; Long, iii. 436-439; Abeken, 111; Forsyth, 177; Pretor, Att. ii. p. 132.

In the letter I gave to Numestius, I entreated you so ¹ much to come that nothing could have been more earnest or pressing; to the speed I then urged add even more now if you possibly can. Do not however alarm yourself (I know you well, and cannot forget that to love '*It is to be all made of sighs and tears*'¹), for after all the matter is, I hope, likely to turn out not so formidable in the result as it seems in the telling. It seems clear to me that Vettius—you know him; ² the man who used to be my informer—has promised Caesar to contrive that the younger Curio shall fall under suspicion of plotting. With this object he wormed himself into intimacy with the lad, and after frequent conferences with him, as the evidence proves, went so far as to say that he himself was fully determined to make his slaves attack Pompeius and murder him. Curio reported this to his father, and he to Pompeius; and the matter eventually came before the Senate. Vettius on being put into the box at first denied that he had ever had any meetings by appointment with Curio. Of course this did not last long; very soon he claimed a pledge of indemnity for his evidence, amid cries of 'No.' He then gave out that there had been an association of young men headed by Curio, among whom originally had been Lucius Paulus, Quintus Caepio (Brutus I mean²), and Lentulus the son of the priest of Mars, whose father was aware of it; and that afterwards Gaius Septimius, the secretary of Bibulus, had brought him a dagger from Bibulus. All this was treated as ridiculous—that Vettius would have had to do without a dagger unless the consul gave him one!—and it was scouted all the more

¹ Silvius's sentiment in 'As You Like It, v. 2. Prof. Tyrrell points out that '*quam sit amor omnis sollicitus atque anxius*' is almost certainly a quotation from a play.

² *Hic*, because Marcus Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, had been adopted by his uncle Quintus Servilius Caepio, but would perhaps not be known to Atticus under that name.

from the fact that on the 13th of May Bibulus had informed Pompeius that he ought to be on his guard against treachery,
³ for which Pompeius had thanked him. Curio the younger on being called rebutted the statements of Vettius; and on that occasion Vettius was discredited mostly from his own assertion that the plot of these young men to make an attack on Pompeius in the Forum at the exhibition of gladiators given by Gabinius was headed by Paulus, who was well known to have been in Macedonia at the time. A decree is passed that Vettius should be thrown into gaol, because by his own confession he had carried arms; any magistrate who had given orders for his release would be an accomplice of treason. The general impression about the matter left on people's minds was an idea that it had been arranged for Vettius to be arrested in the Forum with a dagger, and his slaves, all of them armed, at the same time; that he should then offer to give evidence; and that this would actually have taken place, had not the Curios first given information to Pompeius. Afterwards the decree of the Senate was publicly read. However on the next day, Caesar of all men, who once when praetor had forbidden Quintus Catulus to speak except from below the tribune, now brought Vettius forward actually on to it, thus giving him the privilege of a place which the consul Bibulus could scarcely venture to show himself near. / Here he said anything he was wished to about matters of State, in a way to be expected from one who had come there fully primed and tutored. First he excepted the name of Caepio from his remarks, though he had mentioned him by name most emphatically in the Senate, so that it became clear that the night had given an opportunity for some nocturnal intercession.³ Next he named people on whom in the Senate he had not cast the least breath of suspicion: Lucullus, from whose house Gaius Fannius (the same who supported the prosecution of Clodius) had, he said, been frequently sent to him; and Domitius, whose house had been fixed as the one from which the attack was to be made.

³ The allusion is to Marcus Brutus's mother, Servilia, who was suspected of a *liaison* with Caesar. The evidence, however, is very weak, and Roman scandal on such subjects was entirely reckless. See Froude, Caesar, 542-547. On the notion that Brutus was Caesar's own son, see Letter cv, note 1.

He did not mention me by name, but said that a certain eloquent ex-consul, a near neighbour of the consul's, had remarked to him that what we wanted was to find some Servilius Ahala or Brutus.⁴ At the very last he added, on being recalled by Vatinius, after the assembly had been dismissed, that he had heard from Curio that Piso, my son-in-law, was privy to this plot, as also was Marcus Laterensis. Vettius is now being charged before Crassus Dives with disturbing the peace, and in the event of being found guilty intends to claim leave to turn informer; and if he succeeds in this, there will probably be more than one prosecution. [This I do not exactly disregard, for] I am one who makes it a principle to disregard nothing, but do not much fear. People show me the strongest tokens of their good-will, but I am utterly sick of life; everything is so full of every possible kind of trouble. A little while ago I feared a massacre, but this idea was dispelled by the speech of that stout-hearted veteran Quintus Considius.⁵ Now the kind of massacre I might have dreaded every day has risen up all of a sudden. In fine, it would be impossible to be more unhappy than I, or happier than Catulus, alike in the glory of his life and in the fate of these evil days. Still, amid all these troubles I keep a good courage and unbroken spirit, and am maintaining my position with dignity and with the greatest vigilance. Pompeius bids me have no fear about Clodius, and professes the greatest regard for me in all his speeches. I long to have you to advise my actions, share my anxieties, and take part in all my thoughts; so, as I have desired Numestius to plead with you, I now again implore you as earnestly as ever, nay, if possible, even more so, to be sure to make haste to me. I shall feel new life in me when once I have set eyes on you.

⁴ Cicero's house was on the Palatine, and therefore near Caesar's official residence, as Pontiff, in the Sacred Way. Gaius Servilius Ahala, master of the horse to Cincinnatus, was the murderer of Spurius Maelius, the popular hero. The Brutus here meant is of course Lucius Brutus who expelled Tarquinius the Second.

⁵ Quintus Considius told Caesar that the empty Senate was due to his method of terrorism. Caesar, however, took the veteran's rebuke in good part. Plutarch, *Caes.* 14.

XIV. (AD ATT. II. 25.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

July or August, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

This characteristic letter illustrates Cicero's not very honourable theories about the *Mendaciuncula* or white lie. Varro, the great scholar and antiquary, was now to be flattered as being a friend of Pompeius.

1 In future if I have spoken in praise of any of your friends in a letter to you I should like you to let them know that I have done so. For instance, I wrote to you lately, you know, that Varro had been very kind to me, and you replied that it gave you extreme pleasure; but I should be better pleased to know that you had written to tell him that he is doing all I could wish—not that he really is doing so, but to get him to do it. For, as you are aware, he has a curious disposition, '*dolis instructus et arte Pelasga.*'¹ But '*quidquid delirant reges,*'² we must bear; 'tis a sound maxim. Yet, upon my word, how liberally, how nobly, how eloquently your other friend, Hortensius, extolled me to the skies in speaking of the praetorship of Flaccus, and that crisis about the Allobroges.³ I can assure you it would be impossible to speak more affectionately and enthusiastically, or in a less grudging way. You understand of course that I want you to let him know
2 that I have written this to you. But why should you write, when I suppose you are on your way already, and indeed almost here by now? I have pleaded for this so much in my former letters. I am anxiously looking for you, and anxiously longing, and yet it is not so much I as the cause and the time that are really calling for you. What can I write to you about these matters except the old story—that nothing is more hope-

¹ Aen. ii. 152. The parallel is all the closer because the original is spoken by Andromache of the Spartans, Eur. Androm. 448. But *moratus est* may possibly mean 'he has made delays.'

² Hor. Ep. i. 2. 14. Cicero is alluding to a line, 'The follies of our lords we must endure,' in Euripides, Phoenissae, 393.

³ Flaccus was praetor at the time of Catilina's conspiracy. The final disclosure came through the envoys of the Allobroges, a Gallic people whose country lay between Lyon and Geneva, to whom overtures had been made. Cicero defended Flaccus on the usual charge of extortion in a speech still extant.

less than the constitution, nothing more hateful than those whose work all this is. For myself, as far as I believe, and hope, and can ascertain, I am supported by everybody's strongest good-will. So come to me on wings : if you do not set me free from all my troubles, you will at least share them. I write the more briefly because, as I hope, we shall soon be able to meet and discuss anything we like. Farewell.

XV. (AD QUINT. FRATR. I. 2.)

FROM MARCUS CICERO AT ROME TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS
AT EPHESUS.

End of October, 695 A.V.C. (59 B.C.)

This letter is politically unimportant, though § 15 conclusively shows the real popularity of the triumvirs, which Cicero refused to see in Letter xii. It is interesting, both as detailing Cicero's views on the tact required for administration of a province, and as illustrating the hasty and passionate character of his brother. Quintus Cicero, who had married Pomponia, the sister of Atticus, after being praetor for 62 B.C., succeeded Lucius Flaccus as governor of the Roman province of Asia, the capital of which was Ephesus. His administration gave rise apparently to bitter complaints, not so much from any injustice, as from his want of tact, and readiness to act entirely upon impulse. The letter also throws much light on the character of Roman provincial administration ; the enormous powers of a governor, amounting nearly to making his own laws ; the pressure put upon him by his friends to wrest the law in their interest ; and the odium they always endeavoured to excite against him if disappointed, in view of the trial for corruption which generally succeeded a proconsulship.

Abeken, 115 ; Smith's Dict. Biog., i. 746 ; Beesly, Catiline, 47.

Statius arrived here on the 25th of October.¹ His coming made me uneasy, because you said you would be sure to be plundered by your servants during his absence ; so far however as it cut short the curiosity about his return and the crowding to see him, which would be sure to ensue if he left the province in your company without showing himself before, I thought it had happened very fortunately ; for gossip has now used itself up, and people have often dropped phrases about having expected to see some great hero—‘*forti pectore et armis*’ ;²

¹ See Letter xi. § 4 ; xii. § 1.

² Aen. iv. 11. Cicero is quoting the words of Polyphemus when disappointed about Odysseus, Od. ix. 513.

and I am glad to think that all this has been spending
 2 itself in your absence. However your sending him here to clear himself was, to me at least, totally unnecessary : for in the first place I never suspected him at all, and secondly, though I wrote to you about him, I was not writing my own opinion ; but as the interest and safety of all of us when we are in any public character depends not only on what is known, but what is believed about us, I have invariably reported to you what other people were saying, not my own conclusions. And how general, and moreover how serious these remarks were, Statius himself discovered on his arrival. In fact, he happened to be present when some people were actually complaining about him at my house, and was enabled to perceive that the slanders of the spiteful burst out with special vehemence
 3 at the mention of his name. What however used to disturb me most was when I heard rumours of his influence with you being greater than the dignity of your years and respect for your high position ought to allow ; for you cannot think how many people have interceded with me to give them a good word with Statius ; or again, how many times I myself have heard him in conversation drop, as though *par mégarde*,³ expressions like this : ‘I did not approve of it,’ ‘I warned,’ or ‘I recommended,’ or ‘I prevented’ him ; and, though all this shows the greatest fidelity—which I fully believe, since you are convinced that it is so,—yet the mere fact of people’s knowing that one has such an influential freedman or slave is fatal to self-respect. And you may take this for a fact (for if I ought not thoughtlessly to report anything, neither ought I to deceive you by suppressing it), that it is Statius who has given a handle for all the slanders of people who were eager to disparage you. Until now all I could see was that there were some people who had a grudge against you for your severity ; but since you have given him his freedom, I find that the people with a grudge have something to talk about.

4 II. I will now proceed to answer the letters delivered to

³ ἀσφαλῶς may perhaps mean ‘feeling safe’ and so = carelessly. But Prof. Tyrrell reads ἀφελῶς, which may be rendered ‘in all naïveté.’ *Atque habeto* is an anacoluthon after *quod me movebat*, caused by the long parenthesis.

me by Caesius (and since I gather that you wish this, I will not fail to assist this man on any opportunity I may have). The first of them is about Zeuxis of Blaudus.⁴ You say that I have cordially recommended to you a man who is beyond all doubt the murderer of his mother. With regard to this—and indeed all similar cases—I must ask you to note a few facts; otherwise you might perhaps wonder that I have become so eager to conciliate the Greeks. Perceiving that the complaints of the Greeks were being allowed too much weight, owing to the national talent for imposing on everybody, I took care to pacify in every way I could any persons I ever heard complaining of you. First I conciliated the people of Dionysopolis, who were particularly bitter,—and Hermippus, as being one of their leading men, I attached to me by not only entering into conversation with him, but by admitting him to intimacy—I even condescended personally to treat Hephaestus of Apamea, and that good-for-nothing scamp Megaristus of Antandros, and Nicias of Smyrna too⁵—worthless creatures as they undoubtedly are—with all the courtesy I could manage, even down to Nymphon the Colophonian! Now my object in all this was not any pleasure I take in such people as these, or the nation as a whole—I am sick of their want of principle, their subserviency, their disposition to ignore gratitude for expediency—but when Zeuxis (to return to him) began to talk about his⁶ conversation with Cascellius exactly as you describe, I stopped his mouth, and invited his intimacy. I cannot understand however what this extreme ‘desire’ of yours can have been, when you tell me in your letter that having had two Mysians at Smyrna sewn up in the sack,⁶ you were very desirous to apply similar stern measures in the upper part of your province, and therefore wanted, whatever the means, to get Zeuxis inveigled there. Possibly he was not a man whom, if brought

⁴ A town of Phrygia. All the places mentioned below were in Quintus Cicero's province. See also note 7.

⁵ The repetition of ‘ego’ is to point the contrast with the objects of ‘complexus.’

⁶ By a well-known traditional punishment a parricide was scourged, sewn up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, all supposed to be parricidal creatures, put on to a waggon drawn by black oxen, and thrown into the sea. Dict. Ant. p. 687; Mayor on Juv. viii. 214; Cie. pro Rosc. Am. 25.

to trial, it would be right to let go, but surely it was not necessary that he should be enticed and inveigled to trial under false pretences, as you propose; especially as he is a man whom, on the testimony not only of his fellow citizens but other people too, I find more plainly day by day to be more ⁶ notorious, likely enough, than his native town.⁷ But, say you, it is always these Greeks I am favouring. What? did not I appease Caecilius in every possible way? And look what a man he was—what a rage he was in! what temper he showed! In fact, is there any one I ever failed to mollify except Tuscenius, whose case is beyond remedy? Mind you, we still have Catienus hanging over our heads—a worthless and mean-spirited fellow enough, but for all that entitled by his property to equestrian rank. Even him it will be possible to pacify; nor can I blame you for having dealt so severely with his father, being perfectly well aware that you had good reason for so doing; but what could be the necessity for such a letter as you sent to the man himself; that ‘he was bent on setting up for himself the cross from which you had taken him down once before;’ or that ‘you would take good care that he was stifled and burnt at the stake amid applause from the whole province’? Look again at what you wrote to one Gaius Fabius, whoever he may be—for Catienus is carrying that letter too round to everybody—how ‘it had been reported to you that the kidnapper Licinius with his son, a chick of the old kite, was levying blackmail.’ And you proceed to request Fabius to burn father and son alive if possible, but if not, to send them to you, and you would burn them in legal form. Such a letter as this which you wrote in joke to Fabius (if indeed it be yours) has, when any one reads it, a most dis-⁷ agreeable ferocity of expression: and if you look back to the advice given in all my letters, you will find that I have merely blamed your bitterness of phrase and hastiness, and possibly now and then a want of due consideration in letters you have despatched. And in matters such as these, if my judgment

⁷ The meaning of the passage is straightforward. The personal notoriety of Zeuxis, though a citizen of a mean city, is a good reason for caution. Hence Prof. Tyrrell's conjectures, *mobilorem* or *mollirem*, are needless, as is also Mr. Shuckburgh's *quam pro civitate sua*. *Nobilis*=‘well known.’

had more weight with you than your (shall I say?) slightly hasty disposition, or perhaps a certain enjoyment you have in getting into a passion, or a way of making too pungent epigrams, there would be absolutely nothing I could regret. Yet can you believe the pain I feel is trifling when I hear what a reputation Vergilius has, or Gaius Octavius, your nearest neighbour? For if you can rank yourself above your neighbours inland, in Cilicia and Syria, what a thing to boast of!⁸ And here is the sting of it, that while the people I have mentioned are not superior to you in purity of administration, they are superior all the same in the art of winning good-will: yet they know nothing of Xenophon's Cyrus or Agesilaus; in whose mouths, though both were kings with absolute power, no one ever heard an ill-tempered word.

III. But as I have from the first been pressing this upon your consideration, I am well aware how much success I have already had. Now however on the eve of your departure,⁸ which I suppose you are just making, leave behind you, I entreat, as pleasant a recollection of yourself as possible. Your successor is a man of most courteous manners; all your other qualities will be greatly missed when he comes. In issuing your instructions, as I have often mentioned in my letters, you have shown yourself too accessible to entreaties. Make away, if you possibly can, with any that are unjust, any that are startling, any that are inconsistent. Statius has told me that it is usual for instructions to be brought to you ready written; that they are read by him, and if they are illegal he informs you of it; but that before he came to you there was no sifting of the correspondence; to which fact he attributes those collections of selected despatches which always provoked so much criticism. About matters of this kind I will not, just⁹ now at any rate, give you any warning; it is too late, and you may recollect that on various occasions I have given you most careful advice. To repeat however what I charged Theopompus to tell you when I was warned of it by him, be sure you

⁸ Vergilius was pro-praetor of Sicily, Octavius of Macedonia. Mr. Watson says that the Governor of Syria was either Lucius Philippus, or Gnaeus Lentulus Marcellinus, who were the consuls of 56 B.C.; of Cilicia either Titus Balbus (Letter I.), or Marcus Pupius Piso (Letter vi.), consul 61 B.C.

see that people who are really your friends—this is easy enough—destroy all papers of this kind ; first, the illegal ; secondly, the inconsistent ones ; thirdly, those that are eccentric, or written in bad taste ; lastly, those that contain insulting expressions about anybody. Mind, I do not suppose that these faults are really as great as I am told ; only if through pressure of work they have been little noted, take the opportunity now of revising and correcting them. I have read a letter of which I cannot approve, said to have been written by your confidential man⁹ Sulla on his own authority ; several I have seen which are written in an angry tone. / But this is just *à propos* about your rescripts : for while I was on this very page, in came Lucius Flavius, our praetor-elect, a great friend of mine, who told me you had sent instructions to his agents, which appeared to me most unjust ; forbidding them to take any part of the property of the late Lucius Octavius Naso, to which Flavius succeeds, before paying the claim of Gaius Fundanius ; and that you had sent a similar one to the authorities at Apollonis, not to allow the property which had belonged to Octavius to be touched till the debt had been paid to Fundanius. It seems to me impossible this can be true ; it is so utterly unlike your judgment. Not let the heir touch the property ! What if he denies the debt ? What if he does not owe it all ? In fact, is it usual for the praetor to decide whether a debt is owing or not ? Am I not a well-wisher to Fundanius, a good friend of his, and one who would pity his case ? No one more so than I ; but the force of justice is so great in some cases as to leave no room for personal feeling. Moreover Flavius told me that in the instructions, which he declared to be yours, you had stated that the alternative was whether you should thank them as your friends, or make it unpleasant for them as being your enemies. I need scarcely say that he took this very ill, and complained most bitterly to me, and implored me to write to you very strongly about it. This I am now doing, and I beg you over and over again, with all the earnestness I can,

⁹ Lit. *nomenclator*, an attendant who informed his master of the names of the people he met, it being at Rome a most important attention that a man should be addressed by name. Usually of course this was a confidential servant.

first to concede a point to Flavius's agents about impairing the value of the property ; and secondly, not to send any further instructions to the people at Apollonis which Flavius can object to. You will do all this, will you not, for the sake of Flavius ? I am sure you will for Pompeius. Upon my honour, I do not like you to think that I am gaining credit for liberality myself out of your hard dealing towards this man ; but I entreat you to see to it in person that some official instructions are left behind you on the point, and some record in the form of a decree or memorandum of your own, such as may be calculated to secure the rights of Flavius in this case. For the poor man, who is most attentive to me, and most tenacious of his rights and position, is much pained to find that neither friendship nor equity availed him at all with you : and yet, if I am not mistaken, both Pompeius and Caesar once recommended Flavius to your good offices, and Flavius had himself written to you, as I certainly did. For these reasons if there is anything you would feel you ought to do for me, when I ask it, let this be it. An you love me, fail not in this ; spare no pains ; attain the end of making Flavius feel the deepest gratitude both to yourself and to me. I could not be more in earnest than I am in pleading for this.

IV. What you tell me about Hermia has, I give you my ¹² word, caused me much pain. I wrote you a letter which I own was not quite in a brotherly spirit ; but I wrote it in a fit of temper when I was stung by the speech of Diodotus, Lucullus's freedman, immediately after I had heard about the compact ; and I really wanted to recall it. Such a letter, if not a brotherly one, you ought as a brother to forgive.

With regard to Censorinus, Antonius, Scaevola, and the ¹³ Cassii, it gives me the greatest pleasure to find that you are as popular with them as you say you are. Everything else in that same letter of yours was too bitter for my taste ; your '*numquam navem nisi rectam,*'¹⁰ and '*mors ultima linea.*'

¹⁰ This is Seneca's version (Ep. 85) of the Greek proverb quoted by Cicero, which is explained as the boast of a sailor in a storm that he will steer his good ship well to the last. The other quotation is from Prometheus Vinctus, l. 769, meaning that death once for all is better than continued pain. The parallel here given is from Horace, Ep. i. 16, 79. See Additional Notes.

You will find that all this is too tragic for the occasion ;¹¹ my reproofs were full of affection for you. They are not exactly nothing ; but still they are very moderate, not to say tiny. For my own part, I should not have thought you deserved even the smallest blame in any single thing, so purely blameless is your conduct, were it not that we have many enemies. Whatever I have said to you in my letters that is in any degree couched in a tone of admonition or censure I have said simply from the watchfulness of that anxiety on your behalf, which is still possessing me and likely to continue ; nor shall I ever give up entreating you to adopt the same course.

14 Attalus of Hypaepa has been pleading with me for you not to prevent his paying out of the public funds the money that was voted for the statue of Quintus Publicius. In regard to this I should not only ask as a favour, but should strongly recommend you not to allow, as far as you are concerned, any privileges of such a man, and one so useful to our side, to be cut down or put a stop to.

By the way, you know Licinius, the slave of my friend Aesopus [the tragedian]. Well, he has run away. He passed as a free man with Patron the Epicurean philosopher at Athens, and went from thence into Asia. Some time afterwards a certain Plato of Sardis, who spends much of his time at Athens, happened to be at Athens at the very time of Licinius's arrival there ; and on discovering by a letter from Aesopus that he was a fugitive slave, he had the rascal arrested and thrown into prison at Ephesus, but whether into the public gaol or a private mill I have not been able quite to make out from his letter. Whichever it is, as he is at Ephesus, I should like you to hunt out the man, and to be quite sure to bring him if necessary in your own company. Do not mind whether he is worth it (in fact, a worthless creature cannot be worth much) ; but Aesopus is so pained at the outrageous audacity of his slave, that you could not lay him under any greater obligation than if you could help in his recovery.

15 V. Now I must tell you what you are most longing to hear

¹¹ Erant has been suggested, but this sense of the future may be paralleled by Juv. i. 126, *quiesceret*, 'you will find her asleep,' quoted by Prof. Tyrrell. This is better than Orelli's, 'these things will do for greater troubles.'

about. We have utterly lost our constitution : so much so that Gaius Cato, a young man of no judgment, but still a Roman and a Cato, scarcely escaped with his life because, when he wanted to impeach Gabinius for bribery, and the praetors for several days had refused him any access to or communication with themselves, he from a public platform called Pompeius a dictator in all but law. He had the narrowest escape you ever saw of being murdered. From this you can see what must be the state of the Republic. Still it seems that there ¹⁶ will not be wanting numbers in our cause ; it is quite astonishing how people profess their adherence, and offer their services, or make promises. For my own part indeed I have not only strong hopes, but more confidence than I had before—hopes that we shall prevail in the end, and confidence that while the constitution lasts at all I need not even fear any disaster. However things stand thus : if I am impeached in course of law all Italy will flock to my aid, so that I shall come off with tenfold glory ; if, on the other hand, force is to be the order of the day, I hope the devotion not only of friends but even of personal strangers will give me force in return to resist. Every one is promising to place not only himself, but his friends, dependants, freedmen and slaves, and (to crown all) his money at my disposal. My old phalanx of patriots is fired with zeal and love for me : if there are any who before were cold or lukewarm through hatred of these tyrants, they now rally to the good cause. Pompeius makes every promise, and so does Caesar. I believe them of course, so far as that does not require me to abate a jot of my preparations. The incoming tribunes are friendly to me ; the consuls seem excellently disposed ;¹² among the praetors I have some warm friends as well as most energetic patriots, such as Domitius, Nigidius, Memmius,¹³ and Lentulus : there are other sound

¹² The consuls-elect were Lucius Calpurnius Piso, father of Caesar's wife Calpurnia, and Aulus Gabinius, both of whom disappointed Cicero's expectations.

¹³ The chief title to fame of Memmius is that he was the patron of Lucretius, whose great poem is dedicated to him. He seems to have had no *cognomen*, though the editors of Cicero have generally altered the correct reading of *Ad Fam. xiii. 19, 2*, from C. Maenius Gemellus to C. Memmius Gem.—Munro on *Lucretius*, i. 41.

people too, but these are all men in a thousand. So you may have good heart and good hope. I will let you know at frequent intervals about such matters as may occur from day to day.

XVI. (AD ATT. III. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT THESSALONICA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

August 17, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

At last the long-expected attack of Clodius, alluded to in the preceding four letters, fell upon Cicero. As has been already remarked in the Introduction to Letter ix, this attack is generally represented as arising simply from the personal animosity of Clodius, but that is a view which cannot possibly be sustained. Prof. Beesly (*Clodius*, p. 42) undertakes to show 'that the lower orders of Rome exhibited a consistent and determined hostility to the man who had hunted their hero to death; and that the prime agent in a most just retribution was not Clodius, but Caesar.' And similarly Mommsen speaks of Clodius 'acting on the instructions he had received.' That Caesar however would have been quite willing to shield Cicero from any extreme severity, provided he would retire for some period from Rome (just as Cato was entrusted with the annexation of Cyprus), appears clearly enough from his offers of an honorary embassy, and even of the post of one of his own *legati* (Letter xi. § 3; xii. § 5). No less characteristically Pompeius made warm professions of friendship, without extending any protection at all (Letter xii. § 4; xiii. § 5). According to Plutarch (*Cic.* 31) he slipped out of his house by a back-door to avoid seeing Cicero.

In March a resolution was proposed in the Assembly by Clodius, now a tribune of the people, that 'any one who had put Roman citizens to death without trial should be forbidden fire and water,' or, in other words, outlawed. This caused great consternation to the senatorial party, large numbers of whom put on mourning. Though Cicero was not attacked by name, the resolution was obviously aimed at him for his conduct in the conspiracy of Catilina (Introd. to Letter iii.; Letter ix. note 5); and, acting on the advice of a majority of his friends, which he afterwards deplored, he withdrew from Rome, after vainly imploring aid from Pompeius. On the same day Clodius carried a law banishing Cicero by name, but allowing him to live anywhere 400 miles from Rome. Cicero sailed from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, and went thence to Thessalonica, where Gnaeus Plancius was quaestor; declining an invitation to stay at the estate of Atticus in Epirus, which he thought unsafe. Cicero's house on the Palatine was burned down by the mob at once, and on its site Clodius dedicated a temple to Liberty, to render its recovery impossible.

The remaining letters of Part I. are all written by Cicero from Thessalonica or Dyrrachium during his exile. They consist principally of lamentations for which he has been, for once, too severely censured even by his most partial biographers, coupled with entreaties to hurry the steps that were being taken by his friends to effect a repeal of the act of Clodius.

See Mommsen, iv. 206-209; Merivale, i. 179-190; Long, iii, ch. 21; iv. ch. 4; Beesly, Clodius; Abeken, 121-141; Forsyth, c. 12; Trollope, i. ch. 12.

On the 13th of August I received four letters from you : ¹ one to reproach me for not being firmer ; a second, in which you mention that Crassus's freedman has told you how worn and thin I look with anxiety ; a third, describing proceedings in the Senate ; and a fourth on a point which you tell me you have heard Varro corroborate, namely, the inclinations of Pompeius. My answer to the first is this. It is true, I do grieve, but so far from letting this impair my resolution it is itself a cause of grief to me that with such an unshaken purpose I can neither find scope nor sympathy for it. For if you cannot refrain from grieving when I and I only am missing, what, think you, must it be to me, to be parted from you and everybody ? And if you, enjoying all your rights, feel my absence, how much, think you, must I be longing for those very rights ? I am loath to recount all that I have been robbed of, not only because it will not be new to you, but because I shrink from reopening the old smart. This only I repeat : never yet did man fall from such high estate, or unto such depths of misery. Time, however, so far from bringing balm to this pain, in fact inflames it ; for while all other sorrows are mellowed by age, this alone can only grow keener day by day as one thinks of the misery of the present, and looks back on the days that are past.¹ For what I miss is not merely the blessings and the friends I once had, but my very self. What indeed is left of me ?—but I will not let myself either thus distress your mind with my lamentations, or be perpetually handling my own wounds.

Now as to your defence of the people that I said were jealous of me, including Cato among them, why truly I, for my part, hold him so entirely acquitted of such baseness, that I bitterly regret having trusted the pretended friendship of

¹ 'Comfort? comfort scorn'd of devils ! this is truth the poet sings,
That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.'

Tennyson, Locksley Hall.

The allusion is to Dante, Inferno, c. v.

'Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.'

others more than his sturdy fidelity. As to the rest whom you defend, they ought to be clear in my eyes if they are in yours. But this discussion is now out of date. As to Crassus's freedman, he, I dare say, did not speak a word of truth. You describe the debate in the Senate as satisfactory. But how about Curio,—can it be that he has not read that speech (though how it got published I cannot imagine)?² Axius however in his letter to me about the proceedings of the very same day is not so eulogistic of Curio. But it is possible that he passes over something : you of course would not have told me anything but what was the fact. What Varro said gives me some hopes of Caesar, and I only wish Varro could be got to throw himself into our cause. Surely if he would do it of his own accord he would be yet more likely if you pressed him. For myself, if heaven ever restore me to you and my country, I will indeed try hard that you above all my friends may have cause to rejoice at it ; and the claims of duty and affection, which I must acknowledge have not been sufficiently conspicuous hitherto, I will so discharge that you shall think me restored to you as much as to my brother and my family. If I have ever done you wrong,—nay, what I ought to say is, for the wrong I have done you, forgive me ; for it is myself I have wronged far more deeply. Now I am not writing all this as if I were not aware how great is the grief you feel at my downfall, but assuredly if the affection you have and had for me were, and always had been, nothing but my due,³ you would never have allowed me to lack the help of that sound advice of which you had such overflowing wealth, nor would you have allowed me to be deluded into believing that it was best for us to let that act about guilds⁴ be carried. But in

² Probably the speech 'in Clodium et Curionem' (the elder), of which some fragments remain.

³ There is no need with Boot to alter the text to '*tantum amorem re exhibuisse.*' A real, if subtle, distinction is in the thought. Cicero complains that Atticus has taken all the pains to advise him rightly that he was *bound* to do under the circumstances, but not all that he *would* have done had he and not Cicero been the gainer by their friendship. However undeserved this complaint it is at least intelligible, and in accordance with the tone of the whole letter.

⁴ Clodius had 're-established the "street-clubs" (*collegia compitalicia*), at that time abolished, which were nothing else than a formal organisation—

my trouble you only gave me tears as a tribute of affection ; and that was all that I did for myself. What I ought to have earned by a real claim upon you—that night and day you should be thinking ‘what will it be best for him to do?’—has all been thrown away, by my own wrongdoing, not by yours. But had there been a soul—I do not mean only you, but any one—to hold me back from my cowardly resolution when I was upset by the ungenerous reply of Pompeius (and this you were the one man most capable of doing), I should either have fallen without disgrace, or lived to be triumphant at this day. You will bear with me thus far ; for it is myself I am accusing much more deeply of us two, and you only afterwards as being my second self ; and then of course I should like to find somebody to share the blame with. Then too, if I do get restored, I shall come to see that our common omissions were hardly even so great as this implies, and am quite sure that I shall be dear to you for the kindness you have shown, since I am not to be so for any you have received.

The suggestion you mention as arising from your conversation with Culleo about this being a bill against an individual⁵ has something in it ; but a formal repeal is far more desirable. For if nobody means to oppose, what can be more conclusive ? If, on the other hand, there is any one disposed to prevent its passing, he will be sure also to veto a decree of the Senate. Nor is there any need to repeal anything else ; for the first of the two laws did not affect me at all, and if we had only consented when it was first proposed to give it a general support or to disregard it, which was all that it deserved, it could not possibly have hurt us a whit. Here it was that for the first time my judgment failed, nay, even stood in my way. How blind, yes blind, we must have been for putting on mourning, and imploring the aid of the people, always a mischievous step to take, unless indeed they had begun to attack me by

subdivided according to the streets, and with an almost military arrangement —of the whole free or slave proletariat of the capital.—Mommsen, iv. 296 ; see also Long, iii. 214.

⁵ *Privilegia* or laws directed against individuals were, by the XII Tables, illegal (Cic. Leg. iii. 19. 44), and *ipso facto* void. The second of the two bills attacked Cicero by name.

name. But I keep harping on the past. Still it is for this reason, to prevent your meddling at all, if any step is taken, with the law above mentioned, which has many popular provisions.⁶ But it is foolish for me to be advising you about what you are to do, and how to do it; only I wish to heaven something could be done! Your letters, I fancy, keep back a good deal, lest I should be too much overwhelmed with despair. For what is there that you see possible to be done, and how? Can we count on the Senate? Why you yourself wrote to me that Clodius had affixed to the door of the House a certain section of his law, 'that it be illegal to make any motion or speak upon the point.' How comes it then that Domitius announced his intention of making a motion; or, again, how is it that when the people you mention were both discussing the matter and calling for it to be put to the vote, Clodius kept silence? On the other hand, if we are to trust to the popular assembly, will that be possible without securing the unanimous consent of the tribunes? What about my property? What about my house? Can it be restored, or if it cannot, how can I be? Unless you can see some way out of these things, what hope can you hold out to me? Or if you have no hope, what to me is life itself? I am therefore waiting at Thessalonica for the Gazette of the 1st of August, according to which I must determine whether I will retire to your estate in the country, where I can avoid seeing anybody whom I do not want to, while, as you urge, I can see you, and be at hand if there is anything to be done (and this course I understand is what you as well as my brother would advise),⁷ or whether I will go to Cyzicus.⁶ Now, my dear Pomponius, since you would not give me any of your good advice to help me, either because you thought I was quite capable of judging for myself, or from the idea that you were only bound to be ready when appealed to: since I have been betrayed, inveigled, forced into a snare; have let all my strongest defences be taken; have put aside and ignored Italy, when she was all alert in my defence; and have given up myself and my dearest ones to my foes, while you looked on without a word,

⁶ An important free city, now in ruins, on the south side of the Sea of Marmora.

though if you were not more keen-sighted than I, you were at least less under the influence of fear, I pray you, wherever you have an opportunity, give a hand, if you can, to a fallen man, and be in this a support to me. If however all ways are blocked, be sure to let me know the truth, and on no account any longer try to shame me into action or console me out of mere politeness. It is not your good faith that I am blaming ; were it so it would not be your roof above all others I should choose for a refuge. No, it is my own blindness I blame, in thinking myself loved by you as much as heart could wish. Had this been so you would have shown no less fidelity, but increased anxiety : assuredly you would have held me back when I was flinging myself upon destruction ; and then you would not have had to labour as you are now doing to repair this shattered wreck. Be sure therefore to let me know § everything about which you are clear and certain ; and help me, as indeed you are doing, to be a man again, since I dare not say to be what I was once, or once had it in my power to become ; and remember that in this letter it is not on you but on myself I have been throwing the blame.

If there should be any people to whom letters ought to be sent as though they came from me,⁷ I wish you would write them and see that they are despatched.

Aug. 17.

XVII. (AD FAM. XIV. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT THESSALONICA TO HIS WIFE TERENTIA AT ROME

Oct. 5, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

I send this, my dear Terentia, with much love to you, and my little Tullia, and my Marcus.

I hope you will never think that I write longer letters to 1

⁷ *Meo nomine* = purporting to come from me (e.g. Cicero Bruto Sal.), and therefore 'on my account.' If the seal was with Terentia there would be no possibility of detection, since letters were usually dictated to an amanuensis, and the seal therefore corresponded to our signature. Compare Letter lxxxi. § 3.

other people, unless it so happens that any one has written to me about a number of matters that seem to require an answer. In fact, I have nothing to say, nor is there anything just now that I find more difficult. But to you and my dear little girl I cannot write without shedding many tears, when I picture to myself as plunged in the deepest affliction, you whom my dearest wish has been to see perfectly happy ; and this I ought to have secured for you ; yes, and I would have secured, but for our being so faint-hearted.

2 I am most grateful to our friend Piso for his kind services. I did my best to urge that he would not forget you when I was writing to him ; and have now thanked him as in duty bound. I gather that you think there is hope of the new tribunes ; that will be a safe thing to depend on, if we may on the professions of Pompeius, but I have my fears of Crassus. It is true I see that everything on your part is done both bravely and lovingly, nor does that surprise me, but what pains me is that it should be my fate to expose you to such severe suffering to relieve my own : for Publius Valerius, who has been most attentive, wrote me word, and it cost me many tears in the reading, how you had been forced to go from the temple of Vesta to the Valerian office.¹ Alas, my light, my love, whom all used once to look up to for relief !—that you, my Terentia, should be treated thus ; that you should be thus plunged in tears and misery, and all through my fault ! I have indeed preserved others, only for me and mine to perish.

3 As to what you say about our house—or rather its site—I for my part shall consider my restoration to be complete only

¹ Terentia had probably taken refuge in the convent of the temple of Vesta, as she had a half-sister among the Vestal Virgins, the Fabia who was tried and acquitted for an intrigue with Catilina. It is uncertain whether *Tabula Valeria* means a money-lender's office, where Terentia had been obliged to borrow, or a court where she was forced to make an affidavit about her property. Prof. Tyrrell thinks it was to make some declaration before a banker about her husband's estate, and compares *tabula Sestia*, Pro Quint., 25, but he also gives 'auction-room' as an alternative. According to a Scholiast on Cic. *Vatin.* ix. 21, where the word recurs, as it does also in Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 7, it was a place near the Curia Hostilia, so called from a picture of the naval battle of Marcus Valerius Messalla against Hiero in 264 B.C. Perhaps Cicero, with his inveterate love of playing upon words, is alluding to the name of his informant.

when I find that it has been restored to me. But these things are not in our hands: what troubles me is, that in the outlay which must be incurred you, unhappy and impoverished as you are, must necessarily share. However, if we succeed in our object I shall recover everything; but then if ill-fortune continues to persecute us, are you, my poor dear, to be allowed to throw away what you may have saved from the wreck? As to my expenses, I entreat you, my dearest life, to let other people, who can do so perfectly if they will, relieve you; and be sure as you love me not to let your anxiety injure your health, which you know is so delicate.² Night and day you are always before my eyes: I can see you making every exertion on my behalf, and I fear you may not be able to bear it. But I know well that all our hopes are in you; so be very careful of your health, that we may be successful in what you hope and are working for.

As far as I know there is nobody I ought to write to except ⁴ those who write to me, or those whom you mention to me in your letters. Since you prefer it I will not move any further from here, but I hope you will write to me as often as possible, especially if we have any surer grounds for hoping. Good bye, my darlings, good bye.

Thessalonica, Oct. 5.

XVIII. (AD FAM. XIV. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT DYRRACHIUM¹ TO HIS WIFE TERENTIA
AT ROME.

Nov. 25, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

I send this with love, my dearest Terentia, hoping that ¹ you, and my little Tullia, and my Marcus, are all well.

² Yet Terentia is said by Pliny (vii. 48) and Valerius Maximus (viii. 13) to have lived to the age of 103, and Cicero (who afterwards divorced her) complained on his return to Atticus that she had neglected him and Tullia. Has the passage a touch of sarcasm?

¹ This letter seems to have been written at Thessalonica, but sent with a postscript from Dyrrachium, the Greek Epidamnum, which is now called Durazzo, and is in Albania.

From the letters of several people and the talk of everybody I hear that your courage and endurance are simply wonderful, and that no troubles of body or mind can exhaust your energy. How unhappy I am to think that with all your courage and devotion, your virtues and gentleness, you should have fallen into such misfortunes for me! And my sweet Tullia too,—that she who was once so proud of her father should have to undergo such troubles owing to him! And what shall I say about my boy Marcus, who ever since his faculties of perception awoke has felt the sharpest pangs of sorrow and misery? Now could I but think, as you tell me, that all this comes in the natural course of things, I could bear it a little easier. But it has been brought about entirely by my own fault, for thinking myself loved by those who were jealous of me, and turning from those who wanted to win me.

2 Yet had I but used my own judgment, and not let the advice of friends who were either weak or perfidious weigh so much with me, we might now be living in perfect happiness. As it is, since my friends encourage me to hope, I will take care not to let my health be a bad ally to your exertions. I quite understand what a task it is, and how much easier it was to stop at home than to get back there again; still if we are sure of all the tribunes, and of Lentulus (supposing him to be as zealous as he seems), certainly if we are sure of Pompeius as
3 well, and Caesar too, the case cannot be desperate. About our slaves we will let it be as you tell me your friends have advised. As to this place, it is true that the epidemic has only just passed off, but I escaped infection while it lasted. Plancius, who has been exceedingly kind, presses me to stay with him, and will not part with me yet. My own wish was to be in some more out-of-the-way place in Epirus, where Hispo² and his soldiers would not be likely to come, but Plancius will not yet hear of my going; he hopes he may yet manage to return to Italy himself when I do. If I should ever see that day, and once more return to your arms, and feel that

² Nothing is known of Hispo. Orelli thinks he was an officer sent to watch Cicero; Manutius, approved by Wesenberg, reads 'Piso,' i.e. the consul of this year, afterwards Governor of Macedonia. The 'Piso' a few lines below is Tullia's first husband.

I was restored to you and to myself, I should admit that both your loyalty and mine had been abundantly repaid. Piso's ⁴ kindness, constancy, and affection are beyond all description. May he reap satisfaction from it—reputation I feel certain he will. As to Quintus, I make no complaint of you, but you are the very two people I should most wish to see living in harmony, especially since there are none too many of you left to me.³ I have thanked the people you wanted me to, and ⁵ mentioned that my information came from you. As to the block of houses which you tell me you mean to sell—why, good heavens! my dear Terentia, what *is* to be done! Oh, what troubles I have to bear! And if misfortune continues to persecute us what will become of our poor boy? I cannot continue to write—my tears are too much for me; nor would I wish to betray you into the same emotion. All I can say is, that if our friends act up to their bounden duty we shall not want for money; if they do not, you will not be able to succeed only with your own. Let our unhappy fortunes, I entreat you, be a warning to us not to ruin our boy, who is ruined enough already. If he only has something to save him from absolute want, a fair share of talent and a fair share of luck will be all that is necessary to win anything else. Do not neglect your ⁶ health, and send me messengers with letters to let me know what goes on, and how you yourselves are faring. My suspense in any case cannot now be long. Give my love to my little Tullia and my Marcus.

Dyrrachium, Nov. 26.

P.S.—I have moved to Dyrrachium because it is not only ⁷ a free city, but very much in my interest, and quite near to Italy; but if the bustle of the place proves an annoyance I shall betake myself elsewhere and give you notice

³ Compare Letter xx. § 8.

XIX. (AD ATT. III. 23.)

FROM CICERO AT DYRRACHIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Nov. 29, 696 A.V.C. (58 B.C.)

- 1 On the 26th of November three letters came to hand from you. In the first, which was dated Oct. 25, you encourage me to wait with confidence for the month of January, and tell me fully about everything that is calculated to raise one's hopes —the zeal of Lentulus, the friendliness of Metellus, and the general policy of Pompeius. The second letter (contrary to your usual practice) is not dated, though you indicate the time clearly enough when you mention that it was written on the same day as the publication of the proposal of the eight tribunes (that is, of course, Oct. 29), and tell me how far you consider the publication of it to be to our advantage. Well, with regard to this, if you find that my hopes of return and this proposal are alike already desperate, I can only hope that, like a dear good friend, you will think all the trouble I am going to waste a fitter object for pity than ridicule. If on the other hand there is any hope to speak of, please take all pains to secure more watchful support from the magistrates on our side.
- 2 Now the proposed bill of the former tribunes comprised three heads: one dealing with my recall, which was carelessly worded, as it provides for the restoration of nothing except my civil rights and rank, and that is of course much considering my misfortunes, but you are aware what provisions must be secured, and the way to do it. The second head is only the ordinary form of indemnity, 'if the carrying out of this act involve a breach of others,' etc. As to the third head, find out, my dear Pomponius, who procured its insertion, and why he did so. You are aware of course that Clodius added these sanctions to his act to make it all but, if not quite, impossible for either Senate or people to repeal it. But you see that the sanctions of such laws as have to be repealed never are regarded; for otherwise scarcely any could be repealed: in fact, there is hardly a single one that does not hedge itself round with all possible obstacles in the way of

repeal. But when an act is repealed, the clause limiting the manner of its repeal is itself also repealed. Though this is undoubtedly the case, as has always been maintained both in theory and practice, the eight tribunes on our side have inserted this clause : 'If there be anything contained in this act, which by any laws or decrees of the people (that means the bill of Clodius) it is or has been unlawful to promulgate, abrogate, amend, or supersede, without incurring penalty, and renders liable thereon to fine and penalty whosoever has promulgated or repealed it, this act is to be considered so far void.' Moreover so far as those tribunes were concerned this had no power for harm, for there was no law agreed to by them in their corporate capacity to bind them ; which gives one the more reason for suspecting foul play in their having inserted a clause immaterial to themselves, but at the same time prejudicial to me ; so that the new tribunes (if they were at all inclined to be timid) would think it far more necessary for them than for their predecessors to insist on the clause. Nor has this been overlooked by Clodius, for he publicly stated on the 3rd of November that by this clause the powers of the tribunes elect were limited. / But, as you are well aware, there is not a single law which includes a clause of this kind ; though were it necessary it would be found in all where a repeal is involved. I should like you to ascertain how this came to escape Ninnius or the rest of them, and who proposed its introduction ; and also how it comes about that while eight tribunes were not deterred from proposing a decree about me—and this must have been because they thought the clause above mentioned need not be regarded—these very same men are so cautious about a repeal as to fear a responsibility which does not affect them at all, while even those who are included in the terms are not obliged to take any notice of it. Certainly I should not wish the new tribunes to propose such a clause as that, but still let them carry something, whatever it be : I shall be quite satisfied with the single paragraph that will restore me, if only the business can be done with. I have felt ashamed for some time of writing so much about it, being afraid of your reading this when the matter is past hope, so that my pains about it would seem as pathetic

to you, as amusing to other people. But if there is anything still to hope for, do look into the law which Visellius has drawn up for Fadius to propose.¹ That satisfies me thoroughly, while our friend Sestius's, which you say you approve of, does not.

5 The third letter is one dated Nov. 12, in which you explain with equal judgment and care what are the causes which would seem to be keeping the matter in abeyance, touching Crassus, Pompeius, and the rest of them. This makes me entreat you that, if there is the slightest hope of the matter being settled once for all by the insistence on it of the better class of citizens, by personal influence, or by the collection of an imposing force, you will make every effort to break through the obstacles at a single blow, not only zealously exerting yourself, but rousing others to the effort. / But if (as I see too clearly that you forebode as well as I) there is no hope, I beseech and adjure you to turn your affection to my brother Quintus, unhappy man, whom I have so unhappily dragged down with me; and stay him from any hasty resolution that might harm your sister's son.² Do all you can to protect my son, for whom, poor boy, I leave nothing but the odium and ignominy of my name; and be by your kindness the stay of Terentia, who has been afflicted beyond the lot of women. For myself, I intend to start for Epirus as soon as I have received intelligence of the first day's proceedings. I wish you would write me in your next letter how the first act goes off.

Nov. 29.

¹ Visellius, a cousin of Cicero, was a leading jurisconsult or chamber counsel, who drew up in legal form a bill for his recall, to be proposed by the tribune Titus Fadius Gallus. This proposal Cicero preferred to the one of his friend Publius Sestius, another of the tribunes, which did not mention him by name, but simply repealed the abstract resolution of Clodius.

² Quintus Cicero's wife, Pomponia, was sister of Atticus.

PART II.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.



PART II.

FROM CICERO'S RETURN FROM EXILE (AUG. 4, 57 B.C.)
TO THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN
CAESAR AND POMPEIUS (END OF 50 B.C.)

XX. (AD ATT. IV. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

September, 697 A.V.C. (57 B.C.)

Cicero's exile lasted sixteen months only. The consuls for the new year were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, a warm friend of Cicero, to whom many of the most important letters in this part are addressed, and Quintus Metellus Nepos, with whom Cicero had had a quarrel (Letters iv., v.), but who was now quite willing to support his recall under orders from Pompeius. Of the ten tribunes, among whom was Milo, the counterpart of Clodius in the senatorial party, eight were in his favour. Caesar was absent in Gaul, and perhaps considered that the humiliation of Cicero (from which, as we have seen (Introd. to Letter xvi.), he had wished partially to shield him) was now sufficient. Pompeius, finding the supreme power slipping from his grasp, and having been insulted by Clodius, was now making overtures to the Senate, which of course demanded Cicero's recall, as a step towards undoing the defeat it had suffered from the people. Accordingly various proposals were made both in the Senate and the popular assembly for the repeal of Clodius's bill. Some of these appear to have been passed by the Senate more than once, but frustrated by the interposition of a tribune's veto. Similar proposals in the popular assembly at once caused riots between the parties of Milo and Clodius. Finding it impossible to force a bill through by ordinary means, the Senate at last summoned the Italian voters from the municipal towns, who were almost wholly inclined to the senatorial party, from jealousy of the city mob ; and thus Cicero's recall was finally sanctioned on August 4. Cicero left Dyrrachium for Brundisium the same day, and travelled to Rome amid great demonstrations from the now triumphant party, which were clearly intended as an answer to the popular ones displayed at his downfall. His first act was to show his gratitude to the Senate by a speech of thanks ; his second to the regents by proposing to invest Pompeius for five years with the

supreme control of the supplies for the capital, and the power of nominating fifteen officers to assist him.

Mommsen, iv. 293-305; Beesly, Clodius, 72-81; Merivale, i. 333-347; Long, iv. ch. 5; Abeken, 153-158; Forsyth, 194-207.

- 1** As soon as ever I got to Rome and found some one to whom I could safely entrust a letter to you, I thought my first act ought to be to write my thanks to you, since I cannot express them in person, for my happy return. For I felt certain—to tell the truth—that while in giving advice you had been no more resolute or longsighted than myself, and indeed that it was owing to my deference to you that I had been over-anxious about risking my personal safety, you at the same time, however much you had shared at first in my mistake, or rather my infatuation, and partaken of my groundless alarm, had most bitterly felt our separation, and had contributed so much of the labour and exertion, the zeal and perseverance,
- 2** which have gone towards effecting my return. And so I may now tell you, with perfect truth, that even in all my unbounded happiness and the delight of these congratulations I am receiving, there was just one thing wanting to complete the sum of my pleasure—the opportunity of seeing, or better still, of embracing my dear friend. Let me but once have you back, and if ever again I let you go—nay if I do not also exact to the full all arrears of delight in your pleasant companionship for the past—I shall assuredly think myself scarcely deserving of this return of Fortune.
- 3** So far as I have yet seen about my political position I have recovered all that I thought it would be most difficult to regain—I mean all my old reputation at the Bar, my influence in the Senate, and my popularity with all good citizens; more indeed than I had ever aspired to. About my property, however, I am in serious trouble, for you know how it has been broken into, scattered to the winds, plundered right and left; and I want the help, not so much of your purse, which I count as my own, as of your advice about getting together and securing such remnants as are left me.¹

¹ Mr. Watson estimates Cicero's losses by the plunder of his villas at not less than £20,000. See Ad Att. iv. 2-5. Probably here he is also alluding to Terentia, whom he subsequently accused of wasting his property. See Introd. to Letter xciv., and note 8 to this Letter.

Next, though I may assume that either your friends have 4 written to you about all the news, or it has even reached you by the report of messengers and common rumour, still I will just mention briefly the points that I take it you are most eager to learn from myself.⁵ I started from Dyrrachium on the 4th of August—the very day that the law about me was carried. I got to Brundisium on the 5th: there I found my darling Tullia ready to meet me, and that on her own birthday, which as it happened was also the anniversary of the foundation of Brundisium as a colony, and of your neighbour the Goddess of Salvation;² a coincidence which being noticed by the good people of Brundisium was hailed with much rejoicing. On the 8th of August [being still at Brundisium³] I learnt by a letter from Quintus that the law had been carried in the House of Centuries with astonishing enthusiasm of all ranks and ages, by an incredibly large assemblage of people from all Italy. Then, after receiving high honour from the principal people of Brundisium, I could not pursue my journey without deputations from every place meeting me with congratulations.⁴ When I came near the city this went so far that 5 not a soul of any rank who was known to my attendant⁴ failed to come and meet me, except such enemies as found it impossible either to conceal or deny the fact [of their hostility]. On my arriving at the Capuan gate the steps of the temples were crowded with the very lowest classes,⁵ and after they had expressed their congratulations by shouts of applause, another crowd like it attended me with the same applause all the way up to the Capitol, while both in the Forum and the Capitol itself the numbers were enormous. Next day (the 5th of September) I returned thanks to the Senate in the House. Two days after that, bread being then exceedingly dear, and 6 crowds of people having come together, first by the theatre,

² The Temple of Salus was on the Quirinal, near the present Royal Palace, and therefore near the town-house of Atticus.

³ The subjunctive *essem* (if the clause be genuine; it is omitted by Boot) implies that Cicero did not miss the letter owing to his not having left Brundisium.

⁴ See Letter xv. note 9.

⁵ I have no doubt that *ab infimo* ('from top to bottom'), adopted by Prof. Tyrrell, is the right reading. The corruption to *infima* would be sure to occur.

and then in front of the Senate, at the instigation of Clodius a cry was raised that the dearth of corn was all brought about by me. Now the meeting of the Senate for those very days being on the question of supplies, and there being calls for Pompeius, not only from the mob but from the better class of people, to undertake the administration of them, and he being himself anxious for this, when the people pressed me by name to propose it, I did so, taking care to explain my views in full. All the other ex-consuls being absent except Messalla and Afranius, because—so they alleged—they could not safely express their opinions, the Senate passed a decree on my motion that Pompeius should be requested to undertake that office, and a bill be drafted to that effect. On the recital of this decree, as they at once broke into applause, according to the silly new-fangled practice, on the reading out of my name, I made a speech, with the consent of all the magistrates present, except one praetor and two tribunes.

7 Next day there was a full house, and all the ex-consuls were for granting Pompeius any request he saw fit to make; and he in asking for a committee of fifteen under him named me first of all, and said that I should be in every respect his second self. The consuls drew up a law conferring the management of the supply of corn all over the world on Pompeius for five years. Messius proposed an amendment giving him full control over the finances with the addition of a fleet and army, and fuller powers in the provinces than would be granted to those who have to govern them. After that the proposal of the consuls and myself seems moderate enough, this of Messius quite inadmissible. Pompeius says he prefers ours: but really (so his friends think) the other. The ex-consuls, headed by Favonius, are crying out: I hold my tongue, particularly because the Pontifical college has as yet given no answer about my house. If it turns out that they declare the consecration illegal⁶ I shall have a grand site. The value of the buildings upon it will then be assessed by the consul in accordance with the decree of the Senate: on the other alternative they will pull down the building, contract

⁶ See Introd. to Letter vi.

for another in their own names, and estimate the whole value for compensation. This is how my fortunes now stand—⁸

'Tickle for good, well-set for evil days.'⁷

About my income, I am, as you know, in great trouble. Moreover there are one or two things at home which I do not care to put on paper.⁸ How could I fail to love my brother Quintus for the affection, courage, and loyalty that are so marked in his character? I am looking for you, and intreat you to make haste in coming. Come too with the full determination never to let me want for your advice. I am now as it were starting upon a second life. Already certain people who stood up for me in my absence are beginning, now I have come back, to be secretly offended with or openly jealous of me. I long intensely to see you again.

XXI. (AD FAM. I. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

Jan. 13, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

The consuls for 56 B.C. were Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and Lucius Marcius Philippus. Lentulus Spinther on the expiration of his consulship accepted the province of Cilicia, and he is Cicero's principal correspondent for the year 56 B.C. Much of the letters to him is taken up with the affair of King Ptolemaeus Auletes, the father of Cleopatra. That king having been expelled from Egypt by his subjects for gross misgovernment, appealed to the Senate for protection. The Senate, which was naturally a lenient judge of tyranny, was willing to reinstate him; but there were rival claimants for the office of doing so. On the one hand Lentulus Spinther was anxious to signalise his proconsulship; on the other Pompeius wished for the military power which he had failed to obtain as Commissioner of Supplies. Against this the nobles were obstinate; and a passage was soon discovered in the Sibylline books, forbidding the King of Egypt to be brought back 'with a multitude of men.' This led to an indefinite postponement of the decision, and the king was eventually restored by Aulus Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, upon his own authority. Cicero professes in these letters to have been enthusiastic in the cause of Lentulus, but was really neutral for fear of offending Pompeius.

⁷ No doubt this, as Prof. Tyrrell points out, is a quotation from some play. It is quoted in two other places, *Ad Att.* iv. 2; *Epp. ad Brutum*, i. 10-12.

⁸ This probably refers to some domestic difference with Terentia, who apparently disliked Quintus Cicero. Compare Letter xviii. § 4.

Merivale, i. 348-351; Mommsen, iv. 153, 305; Forsyth, 218; Long, iv. ch. 7; Abeken, 163-165.

'The year opens with a series of letters differing considerably in character from most of those with which we have been hitherto occupied. They are addressed to statesmen by a statesman, and we may notice in them a more artificial and laboured style of diction, together with an ambiguity of expression, often throwing out significant hints of matters which it appeared hazardous to speak of openly.'—Abeken, p. 162.

1 I find that in all the claims of duty—let me rather say of affection—towards you, while I can satisfy everybody else in the world I never am satisfied myself. Indeed so vast are the obligations you have laid me under, that as you never rested till you had done everything for me, I feel life embittered to me because I have not the same success in your behalf. The reasons for this are as follows. Hammonius, the King's legate, is avowedly fighting against us by length of purse: the supply is kept up by loans from the same quarters as when you were here. Those who happen to be favourable to the King's interest—they are not very many—without exception want the conduct to be entrusted to Pompeius. The Senate refuses to ignore that trumped-up plea of a religious objection, not from any religious feeling, but from dislike, and the pre-
2 judice which his majesty's bribery has aroused. I lose no opportunity of exhorting and entreating Pompeius, and even venture to expostulate with him and warn him frankly that he ought not to expose himself to such very discreditable imputations: but I fully admit that he gives me no ground for either entreaties or advice; indeed, not only in the course of ordinary conversation, but publicly in the Senate, he pleaded your cause so well that no one could have urged it with more eloquence and weight, nor yet with more zeal and enthusiasm: adding the strongest possible testimony of the services you had done him, and the affection he felt for you. You know that Marcellinus is annoyed with you.¹ He is a man who in all respects, except this question of the King, bids fair to be your warmest supporter. We take what we can get: as for his intention of bringing the question of religion before the Senate,

¹ This sentence seems scarcely consistent with the following one. The very ingenious conjecture, *tibicini*, occurs on the margin of a MS. (in allusion to Ptolemaeus's name *Auletes*, the flute-player).

we cannot divert him from it—indeed he has often done this already. Up to the 13th—I am writing on the morning of the 3 13th—the conclusion we have come to is as follows. Hortensius, Lucullus, and myself are of opinion that we ought to give way to the religious objection which has been raised to an army, because our object cannot be secured otherwise ; but in pursuance of the decree of the Senate which was passed on your own motion, we are for giving you the office of restoring the King as you best can without injury to the state : in short, let us defer to the religious scruple and give up the army, and let the Senate retain you in the direction. Crassus proposes three commissioners and is not for excluding Pompeius, his proposal being to include any who may at the time be holding military command. Bibulus is for three commissioners too, but to be selected only from those who are in a private station. The latter is supported by all the other ex-consuls, except Servilius, who gives it as his opinion that the King ought not to be restored at all ; Volcatius, who proposes Pompeius—this is put to the house by Lupus—and Afranius, who echoes Volcatius. Now one's suspicion of the real wishes of Pompeius is strengthened by the fact that his intimate friends, it was particularly noticed, all support Volcatius. It is very hard work, and success is doubtful. The undisguised way in which Libo and Hypsaeus are rushing about and straining every nerve, and the anxiety shown by those who are most intimate with Pompeius, have created a general belief that he himself really wishes for this appointment ; while those who object to him object to you also, because you gave him his preferment. My 4 influence in the case is diminished by my being indebted to you, while my private interest fades into nothing before the shrewd suspicion which people have got into their heads that they are really thus doing a favour to Pompeius.² It must be remembered that we have to deal with a case which long before your departure was secretly inflamed by the King himself and the intimates and associates of Pompeius, and afterwards made

² The tense of *gratificari* is, I think, in favour of this being an allusion to people who had refused to support Lentulus, thinking they *were* thus obliging Pompeius, and not to those who refused because of the unpopularity of Pompeius, thinking it *would be* a favour to him.

even worse by the open meddling of the ex-consuls, ending in the great disgust of everybody. It shall be seen by all the world that I am loyal to you, and by your friends here that I have not forgotten you because you are away. If there were any loyalty in those people who owe it most we should have no difficulties to encounter.

XXII. (AD FAM. I. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

Jan. 15, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

1 Nothing was settled in the Senate on the 13th of January, because the day was mainly taken up with a dispute between the consul Marcellinus and the tribune Caninius. On that occasion I too took a considerable share in the debate, and apparently impressed the house a good deal by dwelling on your cordial support of the body to which we belong. So next day we thought it best only to give our opinions briefly, for as I had already perceived, both in the course of my speech and when I appealed to individual members to request their support, the feeling of the house had evidently come over to our side. When therefore the motion of Bibulus had been read out first, that there should be three commissioners to reinstate the King; then that of Hortensius, that the office of reinstating him should be conferred on you, but without an army; and third, that of Volcatius, that it should be conferred on Pompeius; a demand was made that the motion of Bibulus should be put to the vote as two separate questions. So far as it related to the religious objection—and this could no longer be opposed—Bibulus's motion was accepted; about the three commissioners a large majority
2 voted against him. The motion of Hortensius stood next to be taken; whereupon Luper the tribune rose to maintain that having himself proposed Pompeius he had a prior right to the consuls to claim a division on his own motion. His speech was met with vehement cries of 'Order' from everybody: it

was indeed a thing monstrous and unheard of. The consuls were neither inclined to give way nor yet to fight the question boldly : they wanted the debate to be protracted over the day, which was the result in the end, because they saw plainly that an immense majority would, on a division, vote for the motion of Hortensius, though they might profess to hold with Volcatius. Many were asked to express their opinion, and that too was [not]¹ unwelcome to the consuls, because they were eager for the proposal of Bibulus to succeed. When the dispute had ² lasted quite until nightfall the House broke up. I happened to be dining that day with Pompeius, and getting here a better opportunity than I had ever had before, because that was my most successful day in the Senate ever since you left, I said in conversation enough I think to induce him to postpone all other objects to insisting upon the rights of your position. Now whenever I am personally conversing with him I cannot but acquit him entirely of any suspicion of selfish ambition : when however I mark the behaviour of his intimates in every rank I see clearly enough, what indeed is now patent to everybody, that your cause has long been betrayed by some underhand dealing on the part of people I need not mention, no doubt with the connivance of the King himself and his advisers. I ⁴ am writing this before daybreak on the 15th of January ; and the Senate is to meet again to-day. As for myself, I may at least hope to preserve my position there, as far as one can amid all the faithlessness and wrongdoing there is in the world. As for the plan of a popular vote, I think we have taken such precautions that no one can bring it before the people at all without violating religion and law alike, or indeed without a breach of the peace altogether. It was with a view to this that only the day before my writing these lines a most stringent resolution has been passed by the Senate ; and though both Cato² and Caninius interposed their veto, it was still ordered to be entered on the minutes : no doubt it has been sent to you. As to other matters, I will let you know about anything

¹ Wesenberg is surely right in inserting *non* ; the consuls, as the previous sentence shows, being in favour of delay.

² This is of course Gaius Cato, the tribune : see Letter xv. § 15.

that happens, and will spare no expenditure of time and trouble or of vigilance and private influence to secure that all shall be managed in the best possible way.

XXIII. (AD QUINT. FRAT. II. 3.)

FROM MARCUS CICERO AT ROME TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS
IN SARDINIA.

Feb. 15, 698 A.V.C (56 B.C.)

At the time of this letter Quintus Cicero was in Sardinia as a member of the Commission of Supplies under Pompeius (Letter xx. Introd.) This and the next one relate the most recent events at Rome: particularly the prosecution, apparently ineffectual, of Milo by Clodius for a breach of the peace; the growing dissensions between Pompeius and Crassus; and the acquittal of Sestius for a breach of the peace in attacking Clodius, which was thought to indicate the temper of the tribunals.

Merivale, i. 351-355; Long, iv. ch. 7; Abeken, 165-167; Forsyth, 219-224.

About this time Cicero's daughter, Tullia, whose first husband, Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, had been dead a year, was betrothed to Marcus Furius Crassipes, quaestor of Bithynia, an adherent of Caesar, of whom little is known. This marriage perhaps never took place; if it did, she must very speedily have been divorced.

1 I wrote to you before about all that had happened up to that time;¹ now I must tell you what has occurred since. The reception of the foreign deputations was postponed from the 1st to the 13th of February, business not being finished on the former day. On the 2nd Milo surrendered to stand his trial. Pompeius was in court to support him, and at my request Marcellus² spoke in his defence: we came off with the honours of war. The trial was adjourned until the 7th. Meanwhile the deputations having been put off till the 13th, the provinces to be given to the different quaestors and the grants to be made to the praetors were discussed, but there were so many lamentations on the state of the country forced upon us that nothing was settled. Gaius Cato gave notice of a proposal to recall Lentulus from his government. His son **2** has put on mourning. On the 7th Milo again appeared on

¹ The date of the last letter to Quintus before this one is Jan. 18.

² There is nothing to show which of the Marcelli is here intended.

his trial. Pompeius spoke, or rather intended to, for as soon as he rose the hired rowdies of Clodius made such an uproar, lasting too throughout his whole speech, as to drown his voice with their interruptions, and even with insults and abuse. Well, when he had made his peroration—for I must admit that he showed great resolution on the occasion, and so far from being conquered by them, he said his full say, sometimes even without interruption, and in the end had succeeded in making a considerable impression—after his peroration, I say, up got Clodius: whereupon such an uproar was raised on our side (for we had determined he should get as good as he gave) that he lost all control of his thoughts, his voice, and his countenance. This scene, though Pompeius had all but finished speaking at eleven, lasted till quite one;³ people meanwhile shouting all sorts of abuse, culminating finally in the filthiest doggerel about Clodius and his sister.⁴ Furious and white with rage, he appealed to his partisans above the shouting to say who it was that was starving the people to death? His rowdies shouted back, Pompeius. Who it was that wanted to go to Alexandria? Pompeius, they answered. Whom would they vote for to go instead? Crassus, they replied (he was among the party at the time, but not out of friendliness to Milo). About two the Clodians began, apparently at a given signal, to spit upon our party. This was too much for our temper. When they began to hustle us out of the place our men fell upon them; the roughs took to their heels; Clodius was turned out of the tribune, and thereupon I too fled, for fear of anything happening in the riot. The Senate is then summoned to meet: as for Pompeius, he is off home: still even so I avoid the House, not liking on the one hand to hold my tongue in such a crisis, or on the other to defend Pompeius—for he was being attacked by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and the younger Servilius—and so run the risk of offending many good patriots. The inquiry was adjourned till next day; Clodius gave notice of postponing the trial till

³ This is only a rough approximation to the time. The Roman hours of the day varied (in the local reckoning they do still) with the time of year. See Dict. Ant. p. 614.

⁴ Compare Letter ix. § 5.

3 the feast of Quirinus.⁵ On the 8th the Senate met in the Temple of Apollo, in order that Pompeius might be present.⁶ He spoke on the question with considerable force; nothing was decided that day. On the 9th they met in the Temple of Apollo, and passed a resolution that the proceedings up to the 8th⁷ were a breach of the peace. The same day Cato delivered a vehement invective against Pompeius, and through the whole of his speech attacked him as though he were actually in the dock; about me, strongly against my will, he spoke at length, and in most flattering terms. His denunciation of the bad faith that had been kept with me was listened to amid perfect silence by my ill-wishers. Pompeius made a vehement reply, and alluded to Crassus, saying in so many words that he himself would take more precaution to guard his own life than Africanus, who was murdered by Papirius Carbo, had done.⁸

4 So it seems to me that we have great storms beginning to brew, for Pompeius quite understands this, and makes no secret of it to me, that plots are being hatched against his life; that Gaius Cato is backed up by Crassus, while some one is supplying Clodius with funds; and that both of them are being egged on not only by him, but by Curio, Bibulus, and the rest of his detractors; and therefore great care just now is necessary if he would not be entirely crushed, with the demagogue-ridden⁹ populace wellnigh alienated from him, with the nobility hostile, the Senate prejudiced, and our young bloods ready for any reckless deed. So he is forearming by sending for men from the country, while Clodius is filling up

⁵ Feb. 17.

⁶ This temple of Apollo was near the Flaminian Circus, and outside the walls, so that Pompeius could attend without forfeiting his *imperium*. But Mr. Watson (see note on this passage) thinks the place was selected on account of the disorder in the city. He had already entered (§ 2) to speak for Milo.

⁷ Prof. Tyrrell inserts *ad* before *a.d.* There were apparently no riots on the 8th.

⁸ Scipio Africanus Minor was found dead in his bed, and was probably murdered by some one of the party of the Gracchi (Mommsen, iii. 104); but it is purely a hypothesis, apparently stated by Pompeius as a fact, that Gaius Papirius Carbo was guilty of it. Ihne comes to the conclusion that Scipio died a natural death. If the assertion had been Cicero's, it would, as Prof. Tyrrell points out, have required *interemit*.

⁹ *Contionarius* does not occur elsewhere; perhaps it is better taken, with Prof. Tyrrell (inserting *a*), as that 'demagogue' = Clodius.

his gang of rowdies: there is a body of them now being got ready for the Quirinus festival. In this instance we are far stronger than any forces he can get by himself; and besides a strong lot are expected from Picenum and Gaul,¹⁰ so that we may even show fight against Cato's motions about Milo and Lentulus.

On the 10th of February Sestius was summoned by Gnaeus ⁵ Nerius, an informer belonging to the Pupinian tribe, for bribery, and on the same day by a certain Marcus Tullius for breaking the peace. He was then ill in bed. Of course I went immediately to see him at his house, and placed myself entirely at his service—wherein I was acting contrary to the expectation of most people, who thought I had some reason for being a little annoyed with him—that I might enjoy both the satisfaction and the character of showing great kindness and gratitude, and I mean to be as good as my word. But in addition to the others implicated, Nerius has laid information against Gnaeus Lentulus Vatia and Gaius Cornelius [and so they have been put on their trial].¹¹ The same day the Senate passed a resolution that all political clubs and electioneering associations should be dismissed, and a law should be proposed to render all people who had refused to disband liable to the penalties for breaking the peace.

On the 11th I defended Bestia on his trial for bribery ⁶ before the praetor Gnaeus Domitius, in the centre of the Forum, amidst a vast concourse; and in speaking I happened to allude to the time when Sestius in the temple of Castor, being then covered with wounds, was only saved by the help of Bestia. With such a *belle occasion* as this of course I introduced here an *avant-propos* with reference to the charges that were now being raked together against Sestius, and paid him some genuine compliments to which everybody agreed. This

¹⁰ The connection with Picenum makes it probable that *Gallia* here, as in the Second Speech against Catilina, means the *ager Gallicus*, or the sea-coast from Ancona to the Rubicon.

¹¹ This is Orelli's suggestion, *itaque rei facti sunt*, in place of the unmeaning *ista ei*. Wesenberg reads *et L. Bestiam*. The whole sentence is doubtful; for *adligatos* the best MSS. have *adlegatos*, which seems to mean 'commissioners.' See Additional Notes.

incident gratified the good man exceedingly ; and I mention it now to you because in your letters you have frequently 7 advised me to keep on good terms with Sestius. Thus far I am writing on the 12th before daybreak. To-day I am going to dine with Atticus in honour of his wedding.¹²

P.S. Feb. 15. All that I need add about my position is that it is one of dignity and influence, as you have frequently told me it would be, when I was afraid to believe it ; and all this, my brother, has been won back for both of us by your patience, resolution and affection, and, I must add, by your tact. A house near Piso's park that belonged to Lucinius has been taken for you ; but I hope that in a few months, after the 1st of July, you will move into your own. Your house in the Carinae¹³ has been taken on lease by some very respectable tenants, the Lamiae. I have had no letter from you since the note from Olbia.¹⁴ I am anxious to know how you are getting on, and how you amuse yourself, but most of all to see your face again as soon as ever I may. Be sure, my dear brother, not to neglect your health, and, even though it is winter, recollect that you are now living in Sardinia.

XXIV. (AD QUINT. FRAT. II. 4.)

FROM MARCUS CICERO AT ROME TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS
IN SARDINIA.

March, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

1 On the 11th of March our friend Sestius was acquitted, and moreover, which is of the greatest constitutional importance—that there should be no appearance of a division of opinion in a case of this kind—he was acquitted unanimously.

Now as to that anxiety of yours which I have often noticed, that I should not leave any ill-natured person, who might say that I was ungrateful if I did not in some things put up as

¹² Atticus married Pilia, who is frequently mentioned in later Letters.

¹³ The Carinae was between the Forum and the Esquiline, near the present church of San Pietro in Vincoli.

¹⁴ Now Terranova, on the N.E. coast of Sardinia ; at this time the principal port of the island.

good-humouredly as possible with his crabbedness, an opportunity for abusing me, I may tell you that in this trial I have earned the reputation of being one of the most grateful men in the world. For not only by defending a cross-grained man did I lay him under a vast obligation, but—and this was his dearest wish—I made very short work of Vatinius, who was openly attacking him, to my own complete satisfaction and the joy of gods and men. Moreover my friend Paulus, though called as a witness against Sestius, declared that he would give information against Vatinius, if Licinius Macer would agree to a delay; and Macer at once rose from his place among Sestius's friends to say that he would certainly not refuse the request. Not to make a long story, that insolent and overbearing fellow [Vatinius] went off much perturbed and quite beaten.

Your Quintus, who is an excellent boy, is getting on remarkably well in his studies: this I have now the better opportunity of noticing because Tyrannio gives him his lessons here. Both of our houses are being built vigorously. I have seen to the paying of half the money to your contractor; and before winter comes I hope we shall both be under one roof. As to our Tullia—who I declare is devoted to you—I hope I have now settled everything with Crassipes. We are now in the two days that people generally consider holy days after the Latin festival; but the festival itself is over.¹

XXV. (AD ATT. IV. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ANTIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April or May, 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

The time for the struggle between the senatorial party and the triumvirs, weakened by their mutual jealousy, seemed now to have come. Accordingly on the 6th of April Cicero proposed in a full house to reconsider Caesar's act for the allotment of lands in Campania on the 15th of May; while Domitius

¹ The Latin festival was one of the *feriae conceptivae*, the date of which was fixed by the consuls in each year. Consequently the remark does not supply the precise date of this letter. After this sentence Mommsen, who is followed by Baiter, Wessenberg, and Tyrrell, inserts § 3-7 of Ad Q. F. ii. 6.

announced that his first proceeding as consul should be to propose the appointment of a successor to Caesar. The moment was critical, and Caesar acted with his customary promptness. Meeting Crassus at Ravenna he proceeded with him to Lucca, where they were joined by Pompeius and the prominent members of their party, and an understanding was restored between the three regents. Pompeius then crossed to Sardinia and informed Quintus Cicero that he would be held responsible for any act of hostility on the part of his brother. This produced an immediate and almost startling change in the orator, whose next appearance in the Senate was to deliver the extant speech 'On the Consular Provinces,' which is a political manifesto on behalf of Caesar and Pompeius, and is probably the 'Recantation' alluded to below. (Some however think this refers to the defence of Balbus, or to a separate pamphlet.) Cicero's real feeling of humiliation may be seen in this remarkable if not unique letter. Two years later it is nearly concealed under a cloud of words, as, for example, in the long letter to Lentulus (No. xxix.)

Mommsen, iv. 306-311; Merivale, i. 352-360; Abeken, 168-173; Forsyth, 227; and compare Mr. Watson's remarks in his Introd. to Part ii. p. 139.

- 1 Can I believe my ears then, and do you really think there is a soul in the world I would rather have to read and criticise my writings than yourself? Why then did I send them to anybody first? Because I was pressed by the person to whom they were sent and had not got another copy. Anything more? Well, yes there is—(how I keep nibbling round my leek that I shall have to swallow!)—the fact is I do feel a little bit ashamed *d'avoir chanté la palinodie*. But let us openly say our good-bye to sincerity, truth, and honour. Nobody can believe what perfidy these leading men of ours as they want to be—ay, and would make themselves, if they could but be trusted—can show. I had felt this before; I knew it all, befooled, deserted, flung aside as I had been by them:¹ still I made up my mind to this, that in public policy I would co-operate with them. They were just the same as ever. At last, under your teaching, I am slowly come back to my senses.
- 2 You will say that your suggestion stopped at what to do, not that I should put it down also in black and white. I for my part solemnly declare that what I wanted was to tie myself

¹ Hermann and others take *senseram inductus* like *sensit delapsus* (*Aen.* ii. 377); and Prof. Nettleship (*Journal of Philology*, No. 15) quotes this passage without discussion as a parallel. But is there any instance of such a construction in prose at all? See Madvig, 401, *obs.* 3. Moreover the tense is against taking *senseram* at any rate with the participle, and if so it is surely simpler to understand the same implied object with *noram* from the preceding sentence. Mr. Watson has now come over to this view.

down to this new connexion, that no possible way might be left open of slipping back among people who, even when they have every reason for pitying, never cease to be jealous of me. Still in the *manierment* of my subject, I was, as I have already told you, very cautious; if however he takes it kindly and it makes those people snarl, I shall launch out more fully—people who begrudge my having a house that belonged to Catulus, and do not remember that I bought it from Vettius; who declare that I ought not to have built a house, but to have sold the land. But what will you say if I tell you that in the very speeches I made for what they themselves approved, they still only exulted that I was speaking counter to the inclinations of Pompeius? I've done with them. But since those who have no power will not love us, let us now try to make those who have the power like us. You will say, 'I ³ should have been inclined to that long ago.' I know you wanted it, and that I was a downright ass. But it is now high time for me to bestow a little affection on myself, since I cannot get it from these people on any terms.

I am very much obliged to you for going so often to look after my house. Crassipes runs away with all my money for travelling.² Do you think I should come straight off the journey to your villa?³ Would it not be more convenient to come to you? The next day is just as good, for what difference does it make to you?—but we will see about that. Your people have been making my library smart by putting the books in cases,⁴ and re-covering them. Please compliment them on it.

² That is, the expense of Tullia's dowry. See the conclusion of the preceding letter.

³ This sentence is ambiguous, owing to our not possessing the letter of Atticus. Boot's interpretation, given above, makes '*de via recta in hortos*' a quotation from Atticus's letter. Mr. Shuckburgh reads *Tullia* for *tu*.

⁴ According to Hesychius, *σιρτυβαι* are parchment cases; *σιλλυβαι* (Att. iv. 4) are label-slips, which would suit well here. But the similarity of the two rare words is suspicious.

XXVI. (AD FAM. I. 7.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

About July (?), 698 A.V.C. (56 B.C.)

For the facts connected with King Ptolemaeus, see Introd. to Letter xxi. ; for the present position of the triumvirs, and Cicero's relation to them, see Introd. to Letter xxv.

1 I have been reading the letter in which you tell me you are much obliged to me for being so frequently informed about everything that goes on and seeing such evident proofs of my regard for you. As to this latter—I mean my showing great affection for you—I must do it if I want to be the man you once helped me to be. As to the former, it is always a pleasant duty to perform, seeing that it gives me the opportunity in so long and distant a separation as ours of conversing with you by letter as often as possible. So if the intervals are longer than you expect, the cause will simply be that my letter is not of a kind I could venture to entrust to any chance person : whenever I have an opportunity of finding trustworthy persons by whom I may safely send one I will not fail to make use of it.

2 It is not easy to answer what you would like to know about individuals—and the sincerity and energy shown by each. This much only, which I have frequently hinted to you before, I now venture, having closely examined the point and being thoroughly satisfied of it, to assert : that certain people, and some in particular who had the strongest obligations as well as the best opportunities to strengthen your cause, have shown themselves vehemently jealous of your position. In fact, different as are the circumstances, the position is with you now exactly what it was once with me; those to whom you had given offence on public grounds being your avowed opponents ; those whose position, whose rights, and whose aims you had always supported, being less inclined to remember your qualities than to disparage your elevation. Such was the position of affairs then, as I have fully described to you

before, when I satisfied myself that Hortensius was genuinely anxious on your behalf, and Lucullus very enthusiastic; while of the people actually in office, Lucius Racilius displayed remarkable loyalty and courage. As for my own champion-
ship of you and my efforts to support your rightful claims, they will probably be thought by most people, considering the depth of my obligation to you, to carry more weight as the discharge of a duty than as a deliberate expression of approval. Indeed, with the above exceptions, I cannot testify to any zeal ³ or gratitude or friendliness towards you on the part of the ex-
consuls: since Pompeius, who frequently speaks to me about your case, not only when I introduce the subject but even unsolicited, was at that time, as you are aware, not often to be found in his place in the Senate; and certainly to him your last letter was, as I could easily see, very gratifying. To me indeed, speaking for myself, your tact, or rather your singular discretion, seems as marvellous as it is pleasant; for by that letter you have retained your hold on an excellent man, and one who feels his obligations to you for your conspicuous generosity to him, when he was beginning to suspect that you had been alienated from him because of the notion of several people that he is looking after his own interests. In fact, I have always myself thought that he fully appreciated your merits, even during that most suspicious period, the episode of Caninius,¹ but after he had read your letter, it was evident to me beyond any doubt that he was now heartily in earnest about promoting your cause, and whatever might be to your honour and interest. For this reason I should like ⁴ you to understand that what I am about to say, I say only after frequently discussing the matter with him, and with his full consent and authority: that since there is no decree of the Senate in force, depriving you of the right to reinstate the king [of Alexandria], and since the order finally made on the subject—which, as you know, was vetoed—that nobody should reinstate him at all, might for any weight it carries be the partisan expression of men in a passion rather than the deliberate judgment of a grave legislative body, you, being in command

¹ Letter xxii. §§ 1, 4.

of Cilicia and Cyprus, must be best able to judge of your own powers, and your chances of success. If the state of things seems likely to give you an opportunity successfully to hold Alexandria and Egypt, we think that it will be in no wise derogatory to you or our empire there that you with your fleet and army should proceed to Alexandria, first leaving king Ptolemaeus at Ptolemais² or any place in the neighbourhood, so that when you have re-established order there, and a strong garrison, he may return to his kingdom. The result of this will be that while it will be you who will reinstate him, just as the Senate originally voted, he will at the same time not have been restored by force of numbers, and this scrupulous people
5 insist on as being the injunction of the Sibyl. But when we both agreed to recommend this scheme we were by no means blind to the fact that the world will judge of your policy by its success: if all has turned out as we wish and hope to see, then everybody will say you have done wisely and bravely: if any mishap occurs, the very same men will call it ambitious and foolhardy. For this reason it is not so easy for us as it is for you, who have Egypt all but in sight of you, to judge how far this is practicable. What we feel in short is this: If you are satisfied you can make yourself master of his kingdom you should lose no time: if you have any doubt on this point you should not run the risk. Of this I can assure you; be successful in your scheme, and you will find many to applaud you even during your absence, everybody after your return. I see that a slip is very dangerous on account of that order of the Senate, and the religious difficulty in the way; but while I would encourage you to win yourself laurels wherever they are certain, I as emphatically warn you off from any perilous struggle, and come round again to what I said at first, that the world will form its conclusion about the whole affair more
6 from the success than the merits of your scheme. If, however, you think this plan of action hazardous, it was our opinion that provided the king has fulfilled his promises to your friends throughout the province over which your authority extends

² It is doubtful whether the best known Ptolemais (Acre) is meant, this being a long way from Alexandria. Several towns had this name.

who may have advanced him money, you should let him have the help of your men and supplies: the nature and situation of your province being such that you can either greatly help his return, by lending it your support, or make it difficult by standing aloof. In deciding this question you yourself will be the best and most likely person to judge of what the case on its general merits or its special circumstances would suggest; our own conclusion I thought it best you should learn from myself.

When you congratulate me on my present position, on my ⁷ intimacy with Milo, on the want of strength as well as of principle in Clodius, I cannot wonder at all that you, like a great artist, should look with pleasure on the perfection of your own work. And yet the wrongheadedness—I do not like to use a stronger word—of people is quite beyond belief. In my case, they have simply estranged me by their jealousies from making common cause with them, when they might have retained my services by proper appreciation. And I must inform you that by the extreme spitefulness of their attacks I have been all but forced to abandon the principles I have so long and steadily supported: not that I would go so far as to forget my self-respect, but I feel that it is high time now to let my own security too count for something. Both were quite compatible if there were any loyalty, any steady principle among the ex-consuls: but most of them are infected with such a paltry spirit that admiration for the consistency of my political career is outdone by envy of its splendour. I write ⁸ all this to you with the less reserve, because not only in my present fortunes, the enjoyment of which I owe to you, but almost from the earliest rise of my reputation and position you have given them your distinguished support; and also because I see that it is not—as I formerly suspected—my want of birth that has excited their envy; for I have seen a similar malignity of jealousy even against you, the highest in position of them all: one however whom those people readily admitted to be *among* our leading men; that you should soar *above* them they entirely objected to. I rejoice that your lot has thus been different from mine, for it is not at all the same thing to have one's honours cut down and to be abandoned to ruin. I owe it however to your resolution that I have not

too bitterly to lament what has passed ; it seems as though by your efforts my reputation had gained more than my fortunes
9 have lost. But you I earnestly advise, stimulated not only by your kindnesses but by my own affection, with all zeal and perseverance to make glory, which has fired your enthusiasm from boyhood, still in every form your guiding-star, and never on any occasion, through the malice of some one else, to swerve from the greatness of soul I have always admired and always loved in you. The world has a great opinion for you ; your liberality wins great praise ; great is still the recollection of your consulship : surely you must see how much more prominent, how much more brilliant all this will become when you have added to it no inconsiderable lustre from the government and administration of a province. Yet I would not have you take any step requiring you to employ your army and the powers you possess, without a long and careful consideration of all these things.³ Make your preparations for this end ; take this always into account ; in every action keep this in view ; and believe what, as you have always hoped for it, I doubt not you now perceive from your success to be true —that with the utmost ease you may assert for yourself the very highest and most dignified position in the state. And now that this exhortation of mine may not seem to you to be pointless and spoken without reason, here is the motive which impelled me : it was because I thought you ought to have the warning pointed by our common experience to be very cautious as long as you live, whom to trust, with whom to be on your guard.

10 As to what you say you would like to know—namely, the state of public affairs—the division of opinion is of the widest, but the earnestness unequally matched ; for those who already have the advantage in money, in arms, and in strength seem to me to have gained so much by the folly and irresolution of their adversaries that they now have the superiority even in prestige. And so, with hardly any dissentient voices, the Senate has been the instrument of giving them everything for which they fancied they could hardly appeal even to the people without risk of an

³ *Haec* is, I think, better referred to the general advice of the letter than with Mr. Watson, to the impression produced here, that is at Rome.

outbreak. Not only did we vote money to Caesar to pay his troops, and a right to have ten lieutenant-generals under him, but no difficulty was made about dispensing with Gracchus's act for appointing a successor to him.⁴ All this I mention to you somewhat briefly because I cannot feel satisfaction with the present state of the Republic; still I do mention it, to be a warning to you of a lesson which, though from my boyhood I have been a student, I myself have had to learn more from experience than from books: that you at least may see before evil befalls you, that we are equally bound not to study self-protection to the exclusion of honour, nor honour to the exclusion of self-protection.

I am obliged to you for the courtesy of your congratulations about my daughter and Crassipes. I do indeed both trust and anticipate that this alliance may prove one that will always be a satisfaction to us. You must bring up my young friend Lentulus, a lad who gives remarkable promise of noble qualities, in all the accomplishments which have ever been your taste, and, above all, to follow in your steps, for no training in the world can be better than this. I love him much, and hold him very dear, not less because he is your son, and a worthy son too, than from the particular liking he seems to have always had for me.

XXVII. (AD FAM. VII. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO CAESAR IN GAUL.

February or March, 700 A.V.C. (54 B.C.)

This letter is of little importance, except perhaps as illustrating the terms on which Cicero now ostensibly stood with Caesar. It is simply a letter of introduction for Gaius Trebatius Testa, a jurist to whom the first Satire of the second book of Horace is addressed. The title of 'Imperator' here given to Caesar was probably gained by some successes in Gaul. On this title see Mommsen, iv. 468; Watson, p. 123.

⁴ A law of Gaius Gracchus providing for the assignment of provinces to the consuls before their election. The assignment of Gaul would be virtually the recall of Caesar. Cicero is rather dishonest here. As Mr. Watson remarks, 'no one could suppose from his language here, that he had actively supported Caesar's claims.'

1 I must beg you to notice how I assume that you are really one with myself, not only in whatever concerns me in person, but even my friends as well. I had intended to take Gaius Trebatius with me wherever I was to go; not intending that he should return without my having loaded him with every attention and service I could show. But now that I have found, first that Pompeius was longer in setting out than I had expected, and secondly that a certain reason for hesitating—of which you are not unaware¹—seemed likely at least to delay my starting, if not to put a stop to it altogether, see what I have taken on myself to promise. I found myself wishing that Trebatius could look to you for any patronage he had expected to receive from me, and upon my word and honour I have pledged myself to him for your good-will just as freely
2 as I used to for my own. But hereupon an extraordinary coincidence happened to us as though to give evidence in favour of my opinion about you, and a pledge for your kindness. Just when I was speaking with more than usual earnestness at my own house about this very Trebatius to our common friend Balbus, in comes a letter from you which concludes as follows: ‘since he has your good word, I will make Marcus * * *² King of Gaul if you like; or if you prefer it, pass him on to the care of Lepta, and you can send me somebody else to give a place to.’ Both Balbus and I raised our hands in wonder: the coincidence here was so striking that it seemed somehow to be no chance, but the very act of Providence itself. Therefore I send Trebatius to you, and if my sending him was at first of my own motion, I regard it now
3 as a thing to be done on your own invitation. I hope, my dear Caesar, you will so receive him with your wonted courtesy that whatever favours you could be induced by me to confer upon any of my friends you will give this one friend the entire benefit of. As to his character, I pledge myself for this—and I am not using a hackneyed phrase, such as you justly rallied me on once before when I wrote to you about Milo, but in true Roman fashion, as men speak who are not empty triflers

¹ This no doubt refers to the attacks of Clodius.

² The name is corrupt, the Med. MS. having *itifium*. Wesenberg's suggestion *Titinius* and Schütz's *Mescinius* are the best.

—that a truer-hearted man, and a braver or less assuming man, does not exist: add to this that he is quite at the top of his profession in civil law from his unequalled memory and vast learning.³ I do not ask for him either a tribuneship or a prefecture, or wish to limit you by specifying the name of any preferment: what I do ask you for is that you will show him your goodwill and generosity; not that I have any objection, if you are so disposed, to your conferring upon him these little marks of distinction as well. In short I pass him over, as they say, ‘from hand to hand’—to that hand of yours so eminent alike in its strength and its fidelity. You must allow me to go a little beyond good taste; your name might well forbid it,⁴ but I see it will be allowed. Farewell, and let me always enjoy the affection you now have for me.

XXVIII. (AD ATT. IV. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS IN ASIA MINOR.

July 27, 700 A.V.C. (54 B.C.)

After his late severe lesson Cicero made no further move in the Senate for some time, but confined his energies to the Bar, though it too was now playing an important part in the struggle between the Senate and the triumvirs. Here however he had no rival except Hortensius. He defended his enemies Vatinius and Gabinius; the latter, though he was Caesar's most active lieutenant in Rome, was condemned. Riots at elections between embittered factions were now the rule; and for one of these, in which a citizen had been killed, apparently by Procilius, in his own house, the tribunes Sufenas, Gaius Cato, and Procilius were brought to trial, but only the last-named was condemned. Forsyth, 259; Abeken, 188.

Disputes between the people of Reate (Rieti) and Interamna (Terni) about the waters of the Velinus have existed almost down to our own day. At Rieti is still shown a mutilated statue, said to be erected by the people in honour of Cicero's services in this very trial. The splendid work of Curius Dentatus for draining the upper tableland forms the celebrated Caduta delle Marmore, or Falls of Terni. Smith's Dict. Geogr. s. v. Reate; ib. Biogr. Dentatus; Forsyth, 260; Mommsen, i. 463.

³ Another interpretation is: ‘Add to this that he is a man of unequalled memory and vast learning, which in civil law is the first consideration.’ See Dict. Biog. iii. 1012. But this leaves no proper construction for accedit, nor was civil law in itself a necessary recommendation to Caesar.

⁴ I do not believe *quam* can stand, and agree with Prof. Tyrrell that Ernesti's *quamquam* is necessary. Caesar disliked all fulsomeness.

On the extraordinary compact alluded to § 7, which was a secret bargain made by the consuls Appius Claudius and Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus to support Gaius Memmius and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus at the election in return for a *fraudulent* decree giving them military authority (*Ad Att.* iv. 18, 2), see Merivale, i. 386; Long, iv. 274; Forsyth, 281-283; Abeken, 189.

- 1 I am pleased to hear about Eutychides, that he is to take your old name of Titus with your new family name of Caecilius, just as Dionysius by a combination of you and me becomes Marcus Pomponius. Assuredly it is a real pleasure to me to know that Eutychides understands, through your granting me this favour, that his having been so *compatissant* in my trouble was neither lost upon me at the time nor forgotten afterwards.
- 2 Your journey into Asia I suppose you were obliged to take; for without some very good reason you, I am sure, would never have chosen to be absent so long, both from your friends, and from everything you most love and prize. But the speediness of your return will best show the consideration and love you bear to your friends: still I am afraid of the rhetorician Clodius detaining you too long with the charms of his conversation, as also that most accomplished man—so people say he is—Pituanus, who just now indeed is quite given up to his Greek ‘books.’¹ But if you would be thought a good man and true, be back among us by the time you promised; you will still be able to live in the society of those two people at Rome when they have found their way here in safety.
- 3 You say you are longing to have at least a line from me. I did write to you, and about a great variety of things too, giving a full account of everything as it happened *de jour en jour*: but I suppose, since apparently you did not stop long in Epirus, [I may conjecture] that they never reached you. My letters to you however are generally of a kind that one does not care to entrust to anybody but a person of whom we can be sure that he will deliver them into your own hands.

¹ The tone of the passage seems to show that this is ironical; so that by *litteris* Cicero probably means accounts or ledgers, the charms of which he fears will be too strong for Atticus. Compare § 7, where he banters his friend again on his liking for money-getting. It may however retain its usual meaning. A Sicilian rhetorician, Sextus Clodius, is mentioned in *Phil.* ii. 17, 43, and may have been employed by Atticus. The doubt as to the reference here is further increased by the better supported, but almost inexplicable reading *praetor* for *rhetor*.

Now I will tell you about matters at Rome. On the 5th ⁴ of July Sufenas and Cato were acquitted, while Procilius was condemned, from which it is obvious that these ‘viri reverendissimi’ care not a straw about the bribery, the elections, the general dead-lock, the sovereign constitution, or in short about their country at all. We ought perhaps not to approve of killing a householder in his own house, but even this not by a decisive majority, seeing that twenty-two voted for an acquittal, against twenty-eight for a conviction! Clodius, opening the accusation, had already made an impression on the minds of the jurors by a really very eloquent peroration, while Hortensius, who was retained in this case, was—much as he usually is. I did not open my mouth, because my little girl, who is now unwell, dreaded my provoking the anger of Clodius. When all this was over, the people of Reate ⁵ had me over to their valley—a perfect Tempe—to plead their cause against Interamna before the consul and ten commissioners; because the water of Lake Velinus, to which Curius Dentatus gave an outlet by cutting through the hill, flows down into the Nar; and thanks to him, the famous Rosia has been reclaimed from water, though it retains a moderate amount of moisture. I stayed with Axius, and he took me over too to the Seven Waters. /On Fonteius’s account I returned to town ⁶ on the 9th of July. I went to see the play, and immediately on my entrance considerable and uninterrupted applause of—never mind this however; it was silly of me to have mentioned it. Well, I gave my attention to Antiphon, who had had his freedom given him before being brought out. Not to keep you in suspense, he won his laurels; but I never saw anything so feeble, such a total want of voice, or such——but never mind; you must keep this to yourself. When he was playing Andromache however he was not so small as Astyanax, but among the rest there was nobody of his size at all. And what about Arbuscula? ² Well, she decidedly pleased me. The games were magnificent and gave much pleasure. The wild-beast hunt was postponed.

Now I will take you to the polling-booths. Bribery is ⁷

² The well-known dancer who had such a contempt for ‘the gods’ of the gallery.—Hor. Sat. i. 10, 77.

going on hotly, ‘*quod iam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis.*’³ On the 15th of July the rate of interest was raised at once from 4 to 8 per cent!⁴ Perhaps you will say, ‘Well, that at any rate I can make a shift to bear.’ And you call yourself a man, and a patriot! All Caesar’s influence is being used on behalf of Memmius: the consuls have coupled Domitius with him, under a compact which I cannot venture to put on paper. Pompeius storms and grumbles, and backs up Scaurus, but whether only on the surface or in earnest is considered doubtful. No candidate has the least *primauté* in himself: money levels the claims of them all. Messalla’s hopes are low; not that you must think his courage or his friends to be failing him, but the caucus of the consuls and the line taken by Pompeius are much against him. This election will, I think, be adjourned. The candidates for the tribuneship have pledged themselves to submit their conduct to the decision of Cato. They have each deposited with him £4000 on the condition that whoever is condemned by Cato shall lose that sum, which is to go to the credit of his competitors. I am writing this letter the day before the elections are expected to be held, but if they come off, and the messenger has not then started, I will on the 28th write to you all about the election; and if, as is anticipated, it proves to be free from bribery, Cato will by himself have effected more than [all your laws or] all your judges.

⁹ I am undertaking the defence of Messius, who has had to return from his post for trial, for Appius had sent him to take an appointment on Caesar’s staff. It was Servilius who issued the summons against him. The tribes he has to face are the Pomptine, Velian, and Maecian. The struggle is a sharp one, but I am doing good work.⁵ When this is over I betake myself to Drusus’s case, and then to Scaurus: good titles these

³ Verg. Georg. iv. 253. Cicero is quoting from Iliad xxiii. 326. Compare the Irish phrase, ‘And more by token.’

⁴ Even the higher of these rates is somewhat lower than we should expect (compare Letter xxxvi. § 13, where 12 per cent. is declared the legal interest). But Dean Merivale’s interpretation (i. 387) of 4 to 8 per cent *per month* is wholly incredible, even if the words will bear that meaning.

⁵ Or perhaps, ‘I have enough to do,’ which is rather supported by the *satagitur* of comedy.

to have when any one catalogues my speeches! Possibly the consuls-elect as well will come into the list, and if Scaurus fails to find himself among them it will go hard with him in this trial. From my brother Quintus's letters I imagine he is now 10 in Britain.⁶ I am waiting with much anxiety to know what he will do. This much at any rate I have gained, that by many and strong indications I may conclude that I am both warmly respected and personally liked by Caesar.

Will you give my compliments to Dionysius, and ask him—or press him—to come as soon as possible, so that he may have the opportunity of teaching my boy Marcus,—yes, and me too.

XXIX. (AD FAM. I. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,
GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

Late in 700 A.V.C. (54 B.C.)¹

See Introduction to Letter xxv. This elaborate letter, one of Cicero's most celebrated compositions, contains the orator's lengthy apology, when the immediate humiliation was past, for his sudden conversion into an adherent of the triumvirs. Most of it is laboured and artificial in the extreme, but in a few parts of it Cicero seems almost to have convinced himself. Long, iv. 134; Forsyth, 265-273; Abeken, 192; Tyrrell, Introduction to Vol. ii.

Your letter gave me very great pleasure indeed. I perceived in it that you recognise my devotion for you—for why should I merely say 'regard,' since even that highest and holiest name of devotion seems too feeble to express your claims upon me? And when you tell me you are greatly obliged by my efforts to serve you, the truth is that your own overflowing affection makes an obligation of that which it were an unpardonable sin to omit. My feelings towards you however

⁶ It was on his return from Britain on this occasion that Quintus Cicero made the gallant defence of a fort, near Charleroi, against a fierce attack of the Nervii, which secured him ever after the warm regard of Caesar. See Froude's *Caesar*, ch. 17.

¹ The date of this letter is generally given as October, but Körner, in his monograph on the dates of letters 57-54 B.C., places it about the middle of December.—Tyrrell, ii. p. 16.

would have been far better understood, and also far more clearly shown, had we but been at Rome and together during 2 all this period of our separation. For by the line of conduct that you announce your intention of following—for which indeed you are eminently qualified, and in which I expect great things from you—we should have been invigorated for the expression of our opinion in the Senate, and for the whole of our political conduct and administration. And speaking of this I will show you a little later on how I stand in opinion and position, and give you an answer to the questions you put. I should at least have enjoyed in you a most faithful and sagacious adviser, you in me a perhaps not inexperienced, at any rate a trustworthy and devoted confidant. I rejoice of course for your sake that you have won the highest title of command, and that you and your victorious army are securing the province to us by your successes, yet I certainly feel that had you been here you might have reaped all the fruits of my gratitude in some more abundant and substantial form. In particular I should have proved myself an admirable comrade for punishing those who, as you are aware, are partly indignant with you for your championship of my rights, partly jealous of the dignity and distinction of that action. However that lifelong enemy of his own benefactors,² who after receiving distinguished kindness from you has singled you out for the attacks of his harmless and impotent fury, has anticipated our duty by bringing down chastisement on himself: for his attempt was such as being exposed at once excludes him from any possibility not only of respect but even of license for the 3 future. Still though I could wish you had learnt this from my experience only, and not in your own person as well, yet I am glad, in spite of your disappointment, that you have seen at no very great cost the wisdom of putting the same value on the professions of the world, which I was taught only after

² This is generally referred either to the consul Appius Claudius, elder brother of Clodius (see Letter xxviii. note 5), or to the tribune Gaius Cato, who had proposed to recall Lentulus. But Prof. Tyrrell makes it refer to Pompeius, whose behaviour to Lentulus about the restoration of King Ptolemaeus had been extremely shifty. *Libertatis* would then mean 'political independence.' I agree with Mr. Watson that such language could not possibly be used in this letter of Pompeius. Compare § 11.

bitter suffering. And it seems to me a proper opportunity for giving you an explanation of my general position in this matter, as an answer to the questions you wish to be informed on.

You tell me you hear by letter that I have had a reconciliation with Caesar and also with Appius, adding that of this you do not disapprove, but hinting that you would like to know what reasons induced me to defend Vatinius and appear as his eulogist. In order to explain this thoroughly to you it will be necessary for me to go somewhat deeper into the motives of my policy.

At the beginning, my dear Lentulus, of those events—those in which your exertions were displayed—I held that I was restored not only to my friends but to the service of my country; and considered that if I owed you boundless affection and a repayment in person of your unequalled and extraordinary devotion, so, as my country had helped you greatly in recalling me, I owed her now on the score of gratitude at least all the loyalty which I had before rendered not as a return for any special favour conferred on me, but in mere discharge of the common duty of citizens. That such was my conviction the Senate has heard from my lips during your own consulship, and you yourself have perceived it from the conversations we have had in our private intercourse. And yet even in the very first part of that period there were many circumstances to wound my feelings, when I noticed how all your efforts to secure the complete restoration of my rights were met by some people with suppressed dislike or at least a dissembling of their enthusiasm for me. Those, for instance, whose duty it was, would neither give you any assistance in the matter of that memorial of my name,³ nor of the outrageous violence which drove my brother and myself together out of house and home; nor even, I declare to you, did they give me the willing assistance I had expected, when it was proposed

³ It is doubtful whether this refers (1) to a 'Hall of Liberty,' said by Manutius to have been erected by Cicero as a memorial after the Catilina conspiracy, and very probably destroyed in the riots; or (2) to his own house which had been razed by Clodius, and a Temple of Liberty built in its place (Letter xx.); or (3) to the adjoining Portico of Catulus on which Clodius had put his own name; or (4) comprises all of them. Compare § 15 below.

to repair my losses under a decree of the Senate ; a measure which had become absolutely necessary to me in the total shipwreck of my property, though I attach to this the least importance of all. Now though I noticed all this—indeed it was notorious—still to me the present discovery was not so bitter as the recollection of past services was a cause for gratification.⁶ For this reason, though I owed much to Pompeius, as you yourself declared and bore me witness, and always had the highest regard for him, not only for his services to me but on the grounds of personal affection and, to a certain extent, an unbroken approval of him, still, putting his aims out of the question, I was consistent throughout in every expression of my political principles.⁷ It was I who, with Pompeius himself in court (for he had returned to town to speak in favour of the character of Sestius), on hearing Vatinius state in his evidence that it was owing to the rising fortunes and success of Caesar that I had begun to court his friendship, avowed that I for my part honoured the lot of Bibulus, down-trodden as he deemed it, more than the triumphs and the victories of them all.⁴ Again, in his hearing on another occasion I stated that the people who had prevented Bibulus from quitting his house were the very same who had forced me to quit mine. In fact, the whole of my cross-examination amounted to a complete exposure of his tribuneship : I spoke with entire freedom and with the warmest indignation of his illegal proceedings, his manipulation of the auspices, his corrupt disposal of kingdoms.⁸ Nor was it the case that I did so only in this trial ; on the contrary many a time I was just as resolute in the Senate : nay, when Marcellinus and Philippus were consuls, my proposal of the 5th of April was carried, that the question of the Campanian lands should be reconsidered in a full house on the 15th of May. Could I possibly make a more direct attack on the very stronghold of their policy ? or could I do more towards forgetting the hard facts of the present, and remembering only the actions of the past ? This proposal of mine was followed by a violent outburst not only from those who were immediately concerned, but from others too of whom

⁴ See Introd. to Letter x.

I had never expected it. For when the decree of the Senate ⁹ had been passed as I proposed, Pompeius, without having given any sign of being offended with me, started for Sardinia and Africa, and on his way thither had an interview with Caesar at Luca. There Caesar complained strongly of my proposal; the truth being that at Ravenna he had previously met Crassus, who had irritated him against me. Of course it was well known that Pompeius also was annoyed at it, a fact which I heard from several others, but was particularly told by my brother. When Pompeius happened to meet him in Sardinia a few days after leaving Luca, he said: ‘This is indeed fortunate; you are the very man I want to see; if you do not make strong representations to your brother Marcus, we shall call upon you to pay all you have pledged yourself for on his behalf.’ In short, he made a bitter complaint; recounted his previous services; reminded my brother of what he had frequently arranged with him in person about the acts of Caesar, and what he had undertaken to pledge on my behalf; and added that my brother himself would witness that his proceedings to secure my recall had been taken with the full consent of Caesar: wherefore in claiming from me a favourable consideration for their object of paying honour to Caesar he begged I would at least abstain from opposition, if I could not or would not give him my support.

When my brother had brought me this news—though it ¹⁰ did not prevent Pompeius from sending Vibullius also to me with the request that I would hold myself unpledged about the Campanian question until his return—I reasserted myself, and argued, as it were, thus with my country: that as I had suffered and done so much for her sake, she might at least allow me to fulfil my private duties by showing my gratitude to those who had deserved it, and redeeming my brother’s pledge on my behalf; nor ought she to hinder one whom she had ever considered an honourable statesman from approving himself an honourable man. Now throughout these proceedings of mine and these expressions of opinion which seemed to give umbrage to Pompeius, the comments of certain people, whose names you ought by this time to be able to guess at, used to be reported to me. These men, though their political

opinions were, and always had been, what I was endeavouring to carry out, used nevertheless to express their satisfaction that while I was by no means pleasing Pompeius, I should be certain to make Caesar my bitterest enemy. This was a thing for me to be annoyed at, but how much more when before my very eyes they began to embrace, and fondle, and caress, and fawn upon my old enemy?—mine, do I say? he is the foe of law, of justice, of peace, of his country and every decent citizen in it—it was enough not perhaps for people like these to make my blood boil—I have lost all capacity for that—but at all events to imagine they were making it do so. Hereupon then, as far as human foresight could go, I made a careful review of my whole position, and on balancing the items arrived with care at the following sum total, which I will now endeavour briefly to lay before you.

11 For my part, were I to see the constitution entirely in the hands of worthless or wicked men—which has happened before now, within my own recollection as well as at other times—not merely would no rewards induce me—such things indeed weigh but little with me—but no threats of danger, such as I know do stir even the stoutest hearts, should ever compel me to support their cause; no, not though their claims upon me were of the strongest. But when a man of the character of Gnaeus Pompeius is at the head of affairs, one who has reached that summit of power and eminence by his brilliant exploits and extraordinary public services, a man too whose successful career I have steadily supported from my youth upwards, and had even put myself forward to promote both in my praetorship and consulship; when moreover he had given me the help of his own influence and support, as well as sharing in all your plans and exertions; when, finally, his only enemy in the whole country was mine as well, I did *not* think I should have much to fear from the imputation of timeserving if I slightly changed my language in expressing some of my opinions, and contributed my good wishes to the advancement of our most illustrious countryman, and one moreover who had deserved so much from me.

12 Assuming this resolution, I had necessarily, you will admit, to include Caesar in my attentions, their interests and position

being so closely allied. Now I was much strengthened in this not only by the old friendship which, as you are well aware, my brother Quintus and I used to have for Caesar, but by his courtesy and generosity, which even in this short time I have good reason to know and appreciate, both from his letters and from the attentions he has paid me. A strong incentive also to me was afforded by our country herself, holding as I did that she, so far from consenting to any opposition being made to her great sons, especially after Caesar's brilliant exploits, was resolutely determined not to let this happen. My weightiest impulse however to this resolution arose partly from Pompeius having pledged his word for me to Caesar, and partly from my brother having done the same to Pompeius. Moreover I was bound to recollect the political truth contained in the inspired teaching of my master Plato, that as are the leading men in a State so must the mass of its citizens be.⁵ I had not forgotten how in my consulship from the very first day of the year so firm a basis had been laid for strengthening the position of the Senate that no one ought to wonder on the 5th of December⁶ to find so much resolution or spirit in that body. I remembered too that after I had retired from office, down to the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, not only did my opinions carry great weight in the Senate, but the feeling of good citizens was all but unanimous. Afterwards however, with yourself holding 13 military command in Eastern Spain, and our government administered not so much by consuls as by province-mongers and the hangers-on and feeders of sedition, some chance flung my unhappy self like an apple of discord into the midst of these hot passions of party struggles; when at this critical moment a consensus of opinion, rare even in the Senate, incredibly strong over the whole of Italy, and quite unique among all respectable citizens, manifested itself for my protection. I will not say however what was the result—there are so many people involved, and in such different degrees—I

⁵ 'Let no one ever make us believe, my friends, that a State can possibly change its laws more easily or more quickly in any way than when its rulers simply lead the rest.'—Plato, *Laws*, p. 711.

⁶ The day when Catilina's fellow-conspirators were strangled by order of the Senate. Compare Letter lxviii. § 1.

will merely state briefly that where I failed was not in forces, but in leaders for them. And herein whatever blame belongs now to those who failed to defend me lies no less on those who abandoned me ; and if any who felt timidity ought to be censured, still more ought one to be reproached who made a pretence of timidity. Surely at any rate for the determination I took I may fairly claim some credit, in that I refused to expose my fellow-citizens, whom once I had saved and who now wished to save me in turn, all leaderless as they were, to the mercy of a gang of slaves ; choosing rather that the world should see how irresistible would have been the strength of our good citizens when once united, had they been allowed to fight for me before my fall, by their having been able so to raise me again after I had been struck down. And that such was their feeling you not only saw beyond doubt when you were pleading my cause, but have always so asserted and maintained.

14 Now on this occasion—so far am I from denying the fact that I shall always recollect it, and readily admit it—you were assisted by some of our noblest citizens, who showed greater vigour in recalling than they had once done in keeping me. Had they but been willing to hold fast to their principles, they might have recovered their own authority at the same time with my restitution. For at a time when the patriotic party had been encouraged by your consulship, and greatly animated by your admirable and resolute proceedings in office,—particularly after Pompeius had enlisted himself in the cause,—when moreover Caesar, finding his brilliant exploits distinguished by marked and unprecedented honours and acknowledgments on the part of the Senate, was allying himself too with the cause of that order, there would have been no possible opportunity for any person however abandoned to lay impious hands upon our liberties.

15 But mark now, I beg, what followed. In the first place, that harpy who befools even feminine devotions, who respected the sanctity of the Holy Goddess no more than he did that of his three sisters, was screened from punishment by the votes of those very men who, when a tribune, relying on the feeling of honest people, was endeavouring to get justice done on a

turbulent citizen, have lost to our country a splendid opportunity of making an example of sedition for the future.⁷

So again, these same men afterwards allowed a monument—not of myself, for they were no spoils of mine, but only my services that were engaged for the work, but a monument rather of the Senate itself—to be branded in letters of blood with the name of its bitterest foe. Now certainly I am most grateful that these people should have supported my recall: but I could wish they had chosen to show some concern, not only for my recovery, as a doctor does, but like trainers who look to one's muscles and healthy complexion. As it is—just like Apelles finishing the head and bust of his Venus to exquisite perfection, and leaving the rest of her a mere sketch—there are certain persons who regarded my restoration as the head, and have completed that alone; everything else about me they have left sketched in the barest outline. But here I 16 disappointed the expectations of those who were watching me, not only with jealous but even with hostile eyes. They had formerly heard a false account of the brave and heroic Quintus, the son of Lucius Metellus, a man who in my judgment towered above every one else in resolution and magnanimity, and whom they persistently represent as having been broken down and dispirited after his recall. [We are to believe then] that one who retired from his country with perfect readiness, and stayed abroad with unmistakeable cheerfulness, never in fact caring to come back, was actually a broken-down man, because of an action in which he surpassed every one else, including even the great Marcus Scaurus, in firmness and dignity!⁸ However, what they had heard reported, or even what they merely suspected about him, they

⁷ See Letter viii. for the trial of Clodius. The tribune is either Milo' or Racilius, who was also a fierce opponent of Clodius. On *tres sorores* see Letter ix. note 9. Mr. Froude, Caesar, p. 283, translates 'The Three Sisters,' apparently thinking that it refers to the Fates!

⁸ Quintus Metellus Numidicus (Letter viii. § 4) was the only member of the Senate who refused to swear obedience to the Agrarian law of Saturninus in 100 B.C. A bill of attainder being proposed against him he retired to Rhodes for a year, when he was recalled. Marcus Aemilius Scaurus might have been expected as the fierce champion of the oligarchy to resist, but he did not. The parallel is rather clumsily introduced: Cicero means that Metellus's enemies were disappointed, and so shall mine be.

forthwith proceeded to imagine about me—that I should be humbled for the future. Why, my country was inspiring me with greater courage than ever, in that she had unmistakeably declared me to be the one citizen she could not afford to spare; and whereas Metellus's recall was on the motion of a single tribune, in mine a country of one mind, headed by her Senate, sympathised with by all Italy, with eight tribunes to propose the motion, and a consul to put it to the vote of the people gathered in their centuries—with every class and every individual joining in the effort—in a word, with her whole strength claimed me back again for her own.

17 Yet never once since that time have I taken upon myself, nor do I at this day take upon me anything that could reasonably give offence to the most malicious critic: my only ambition is never to be wanting in advice, or assistance, or personal help, whether to friends or to those who have a slighter claim upon me. Possibly this aim of mine in life awakens the jealousy of those who, while they see the outward splendour of such a life, cannot discern its hidden anxieties and troubles. Certainly they are at no pains to conceal this accusation against me, that my speeches in support of the honours to be paid to Caesar show that I am in some way ‘turning my back on my old party.’ The fact is that my reasons are partly what I have stated above, partly, and not least, the following consideration, which I was beginning to discuss.

You will not find, my dear Lentulus, the feeling of our loyal citizens what it was when you left. That feeling, renewed in strength by my consulship, afterwards for a while impaired, trampled under foot before you were consul, but brought by you to new life, has now been totally neglected by the very men most bound to respect it; and not merely by external signs or by changes of countenance, where false pretences are easiest, do those men who used when I was in power to be claimed as good conservatives show this, but they have even frequently impressed it on us before now by their votes in the 18 Senate and the law-courts. So it is that at last both the policy and the objects of all prudent politicians (as one of whom I should claim to range myself and to be classed by others)

have with justice veered completely round ; for Plato again, the great master whose teaching I earnestly strive to follow, bids you never press your opinions in politics beyond the point to which you can carry your fellow-citizens with you ; seeing that one has no more right to use violence to his country than to his own mother.⁹ And in fact he alleges that this was the cause of his abstaining from public life, because finding Athens now wellnigh in her dotage, [and holding it equally impossible to guide her by argument or by force], he despaired of his powers of persuasion, while he would not admit the lawfulness of force.¹⁰ My case was different, because I was already committed, having neither a people in their dotage to deal with, nor a choice still open as to whether I should take part in politics : still I was glad to have the opportunity in one and the same question of supporting a policy at once advantageous to myself and honourable to any patriotic citizen. To these considerations was added a memorable, almost more than human generosity of Caesar to my brother and myself ; a man who might justly claim support from me whatever he was undertaking : as it is, after such a brilliant career and such victories as his, even were he not what he is to me, I should still deem him a man we might well delight to honour. For I must ask you to believe^{*} that, leaving out you and others who have given me back to life again, there is no human being to whose kindness I not only profess but am proud to be so indebted.

Having now laid these facts before you, I find it easy to 19 answer your questions about my relations to Vatinius and Crassus ; for as to Appius you write that you cannot blame me with respect to him any more than Caesar, and I am rejoiced to have your approval of my policy. But as to Vatinius, in the first instance a reconciliation had occurred between us, thanks to Pompeius, immediately on his election to the praetorship ; though I admit I had made some uncompromising speeches in the Senate against his claims, not however so much with the object of attacking him as of supporting and eulogising

⁹ ‘ If it be monstrous to use force to father or mother, how much more to one’s country ! ’ —Plato, Crit. p. 51.

¹⁰ This alludes to a passage in Plato’s fifth Letter, p. 322.

Cato. This was followed however by an unusually strong request from Caesar that I would undertake the defence. But why speak highly of him? Nay, I entreat you not to press me with this either about the client in question or about anybody else, lest I retort it on you when you return. In fact there is no reason why I should not even before you come. Just think of the people to whom you have sent letters of recommendation from the ends of the earth. But fear not: I myself always do and always mean to recommend the very same people. However in defending Vatinius I had also a spice of the motive of which I spoke on the trial when I was pleading for him, and remarked that I was following pretty much the advice of the Parasite in ‘The Eunuch’ to the Captain :

‘ If she with Phaedria’s name your passion try,
Do you with Pamphila at once reply ;
If at the feast she Phaedria wish to see,
We’ll say, “ A song from Pamphila for me ; ”
If she the youth, do you the maid extol ;
Meet thrust by thrust, an so you touch her soul.’¹¹

Accordingly, as I told the gentlemen who tried this case, since certain people of high position who had formerly been very kind to me were now parading rather too great affection for my avowed enemy, and before my very eyes were frequently taking him apart in the Senate, now for a grave consultation, now to greet him warmly with the enthusiasm of intimate friends—in fact as they had taken up one Publius, I must really claim their consent to my having the benefit of another, by whose help I, as being somewhat mortified, might just take this slight revenge on my friends’ susceptibilities; and it was not a mere threat, but I often really put it in practice, and before heaven and earth my conduct stands approved.

20 Enough of Vatinius: now hear about Crassus. I, for my part, having still much of the old feeling for him—for I had eagerly trodden down as far as possible into oblivion for the sake of harmony in the common cause all recollection of the very serious injuries he had done me, even when he unexpectedly defended Gabinius, whom a few days before he had

¹¹ Terence, *Eunuchus*, iii. 1, 50.

bitterly attacked—could still have borne it had he set about it without any abuse of me. But when on my arguing the question with him he had gone out of his way to attack me unprovoked, I flashed out at once, not merely with indignation at the actual circumstance, for that probably would not have been very deep, but because that pent-up dislike inspired by his perpetual assaults, which I fancied I had entirely got rid of, but must I suppose have been latent nevertheless, rose all at once to the surface. Well, upon this very occasion certain people, including those individuals whom I generally allude to by [signs or] hints, while they professed to have derived great advantage from my plain-speaking, and that now at last they looked upon me as really coming back to politics like my old self, and while that passage of arms did actually do me considerable good even with the outside public, were nevertheless expressing satisfaction that he at least was now thoroughly estranged from me, and that those who were in the same boat with him would never again be friends of mine. As these malicious remarks were reported to me by men on whom I could thoroughly depend, and as Pompeius's entreaties could not possibly have been more pressing than they were that I would make up my quarrel with Crassus, and Caesar showed plainly in his letters that he was much concerned at our difference, I obeyed the dictates alike of circumstances and my natural feelings: and Crassus, that our good understanding might be made as public at Rome as possible, started for his province, one might almost say from under my roof; for, as he had expressed a wish to be invited, he dined with me at the seat of my son-in-law, Crassipes. Thus it was that I came, as you say you have heard, to support his cause in the Senate, under the strongest recommendations from that eminent man, as indeed I was in honour bound to do when I had once undertaken it.

Now I have laid before you the reasons which induced me 21 in each case to defend particular measures or causes, and a statement of my individual position with reference to the politics of the day. On this I must ask you to believe me, that my feeling would have been precisely the same, had I been entirely free and unfettered in action; for my deliberate opinion was

that it was not advisable to resist such superior strength, nor to abolish, even if that were possible, the just preeminence of our leading men : in short, that we ought not obstinately to hold by a rigid opinion when circumstances are so entirely changed, and with them the views of the most patriotic citizens, but that we must move with the times. Obstinate to persist in one unvarying opinion has never been accounted among the merits of those great men who have guided the helm of State. Just as the pilot's art is shown in running before the storm, even when you cannot make the port, whereas when an opportunity offers of getting there by merely shifting your sails, it is sheer folly to take the risks of keeping on the course you have begun, rather than consent to change it, if you can anyhow get to the welcome haven ; so, if what I have frequently quoted be true, that the supreme object of us statesmen should always be the preservation of 'peace with honour,' we are not bound always to use the same language, but only to keep the same end always in view. For this reason, to repeat what I stated above, were all courses left entirely open to me, yet I should still in politics be no other than I am : but now that kindness from some is equally attracting, and ingratitude from others driving me to my present disposition, I feel no reluctance in holding and expressing those political opinions which seem to me most conducive to the interests alike of myself and the State at large. I do this however all the more frequently and unreservedly because not only is my brother Quintus on Caesar's staff, but because not the slightest word of mine, much less action in Caesar's interest, has ever passed without his receiving it with gratitude so marked as to give the appearance of his being under the greatest obligation to me. The result is that I have the benefit of his influence, overwhelming as it is, and his resources, which are you see enormous, as though they were my own ; nor do I see how in any other way I could have succeeded in breaking down the intrigues of scoundrels against me, except by supplementing now the safeguards I have always possessed by a friendly alliance with
22 the men in power. These opinions I am inclined to think I should have adopted in full, even had I had the benefit of your society ; for I know the candour and moderation of your

nature ; I know that your feelings, while most affectionate to me, conceal no tinge of bitterness against the rest of us ; on the contrary, they are no less open and sincere than they are large-hearted and sublime. I have myself seen certain people prove to you exactly what you could not but see they were to me. All that has influenced me must surely have influenced you too. But however long it be before I have the happiness of again being with you, you shall be my guide in every action : you who once protected me from ruin shall again protect me from loss of dignity. Of this at least I am sure, that you will find me ready to take my part at your side in every act or sentiment or wish, in a word, in everything that is yours ; nor shall any purpose of my life be so dear to me as that day by day you should have stronger reason to rejoice that you have deserved so much of me.

You ask me to send you any literary work I may have 23 been engaged on since your departure. I have some speeches which I will give to Menocritus, but—not to frighten you—there are not very many of them. I have written moreover—for I am effecting a divorce on the whole from pleading, and am wooing again the gentler Muses who from my very boyhood have been as they are now my chief delight—I have written, I say, on the model of Aristotle¹²—as far at least as intention goes—[a discussion or dialogue in] three books, called ‘The Orator,’ which I think may be not without value to your son Lentulus, because they reject entirely the orthodox treatment, and embody the principles of rhetoric as laid down both by Aristotle and Isocrates, and all the elder writers. I have also written three books of verse on the vicissitudes of my life, which I would have sent to you before this had I had the idea of publishing them, because they will be a lasting memorial of your kindness to me and my gratitude in return ; but [the fact was] I was afraid, not so much of people who might fancy themselves attacked (which indeed I have done gently and

¹² Why Cicero calls his ‘De Oratore’ written on the model of Aristotle is not obvious. Madvig (Exc. vii. to De Finibus) thinks his knowledge of Aristotle was limited to the lost dialogues and the rhetorical works. His description of Aristotle’s style as ‘flumen orationis aureum fundens’ (Acad. Pr. ii. 38, 119), and his ‘colouring’ (Letter ix. § 1), are not at all what we should expect. See further references in Mr. Watson’s note.

sparingly), as of those whom it would have been an endless task to enumerate in full as having laid me under obligations. Still as to these particular books, if I succeed in finding anybody to whom I can safely entrust them, I will take care they shall be sent to you. Indeed all this department of my life and occupations I submit unreservedly to you ; all the literary and all the philosophic work, my old recreations, that I ever succeed in completing I shall have much pleasure in referring entirely to the critical judgment of one who has always delighted in such pursuits.

24 The private matters you mention in your letter and beg me not to forget seem to me so much a part of my own that I do not like to be reminded of them ; indeed I can scarcely be asked without feeling hurt you should ask it. As to the service which my brother Quintus wants done for him, you tell me you were hindered by ill-health from travelling into Cilicia, and so could not effect a settlement last summer, but now will spare no pains to get it done. I assure you that this is so important that my brother will justly regard himself as really indebted to you for the satisfactory settlement of his estate by the addition of that piece of land. I should be glad if as frequently as possible you would tell me as an intimate friend any news about yourself, or about the studies and first essays of your son Lentulus, who is almost mine also ; for believe me no man was ever dearer to another or more longed for than you are by me ; and this I mean that not only you but all the world shall feel, and every future generation shall also recognise.

25 Appius has now publicly declared in the House what he frequently stated before in private conversation, that if not prevented from getting a confirmation by the people of his command he will cast lots with his colleague for the two provinces. Should he fail to get this confirmation, it is his intention to make a private arrangement with his colleague, and become your successor. He asserts that this confirmation by the people is for a consul only a matter of expediency, not of necessity ; his own province, being given him by a decree of the Senate, entitles him to full military power under Sulla's act, until such time as he shall have entered the limits of the

city. For my own part, without knowing what the individual sentiments of your correspondents may be, I see that opinion is much divided. One party thinks that it is open to you not to resign your province, because your successor has not been formally authorised by the people voting in their districts; another, that if you do resign it, you are entitled to leave a successor in charge. To me it seems that the legal point is not so clear—though even that can hardly be called doubtful—as that you are bound by your own eminent position, your self-respect, and your independence, which I know you always prize so highly, without any delay to give up the province to your successor; more especially as you cannot oppose his over-eagerness for office, without a suspicion of over-eagerness on your own part. For myself, I recognise a double duty; first to tell you my own opinion, secondly to defend your decision whatever it proves to be.

P.S.—Since writing the above letter I have received your 26 note about the contractors for the taxes. Your fairness to them one cannot but respect; at the same time I wish your readiness to oblige could have secured you from coming into collision with the interests or the sentiments of a class to which you have always paid great respect. For my own part, I shall not fail to support your decrees, but you know the way of these people, and are aware what formidable enemies these very men proved themselves to Quintus Scaevola.¹³ I would still advise you, if you can in any way, to recover the good graces of that class, or at any rate to mollify them. Though this may be difficult, it seems to me within the reach of your sagacity.

¹³ Quintus Mucius Scaevola, consul 95 B.C. and Governor of Asia, offended the *equites* by his unheard-of objections to plunder of the provinces, which was almost the only object of senatorial government. Of course he met the usual fate; his legate, Publius Rutilius Rufus, was condemned on a false charge of embezzlement—a true charge was almost always bribed away with the money of the plundered people—and he himself was murdered.—Letter liv. § 6.

XXX. (AD FAM. II. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS SCRIBONIUS CURIO, ON HIS
RETURN FROM ASIA MINOR.

July (?), 701 A.V.C. (53 B.C.)

Curio the younger, afterwards Caesar's ablest lieutenant, though he is contemptuously spoken of in Letter vii. § 5, was about this time one of Cicero's most favoured correspondents. This rather ponderous yet characteristic letter is sent to meet him at once on landing from Asia, where he had been quaestor, and enlist his sympathies for Milo in the coming election of consuls. Milo would probably have been elected but for an affray between himself and Clodius, with their retainers, on the Appian Road, on Jan. 17, in which the latter was killed. This led to such fierce rioting at Rome that Pompeius was created Dictator, but in order to avoid the name he was only entitled 'Sole Consul'. Pompeius was at this time proconsul of Spain with an army there, and he still had the supreme control of supplies. Thus his position was quite unconstitutional, and to all appearance far more powerful than Caesar's. It is epigrammatically described by Tacitus, Annals, iii. 28. Milo, though defended by Cicero, was condemned to banishment in April; and in July Pompeius resigned his virtual dictatorship by accepting his father-in-law, Quintus Metellus Scipio, as his colleague in the consulship.

Mommsen, iv. 322-327; Merivale, ii. 27-37, 75-84; Long, iv. ch. 20; Forsyth, ch. 16; Abeken, 206-214.

1 I have not yet received any news of your arrival in Italy at the time of despatching the bearer of this letter—Sextus Villius, an intimate acquaintance of my friend Milo—to meet you; but though it is thought your arrival may now be expected at any time, and we are assured that you have already left Asia *en route* for Rome, the importance of my object has relieved me from any fear about writing with undue haste, since I am extremely anxious for these lines to reach you as soon as possible.

As for these services of mine, my dear Curio, if you were the only recipient, and if they were really as important as you are good enough to represent them rather than as they are estimated by myself, I for my part should have greater scruples in pressing upon you a request for any considerable favour; because it is unpleasant to a man of any delicacy to ask anything of importance from one whom he regards as under an obligation to himself, lest he should seem to be demanding it more of right than of grace, and counting it rather a debt to

be paid than a kindness to be conferred. But since those too ² which you have rendered to me have been either done in the sight of all men, or become famous by the very strangeness of my experiences, and since it is the test of a generous disposition, if you owe much to your friend, to wish that to him your obligations could be multiplied, I have had no hesitation in writing to ask a favour of you which to me would be the very greatest possible, indeed almost of the last importance, for I have felt no fear of not being able to bear the weight of all the things you may do for me, however countless ; especially as I was confident that no favour could be so great but that while my heart would be enlarged in the receiving, it would be able so to heap up the interest in repaying as to glorify it in the sight of all.

Now all my hopes, all my energies, care and thought, and assiduity—in a word my whole soul—I have concentrated on a single investment—the consulship of Milo ; and I have decided that in his case it is my bounden duty not only to seek the solid fruits of such service as I can render, but also some distinction for true affection;¹ and really no one, I think, ever set such a value on his own life or fortunes as I do on this high place for him, on whom it is my settled belief that all my hopes are staked. To him I perceive that you above all people have it in your power, if you choose to exercise it, to render such material assistance that we need look no further. We have on our side all the following points,—the support of every right-minded citizen, which he has secured ever since his tribuneship, as I hope you perceive, by having been my champion ;—of the populace and the lower classes, thanks to the magnificence of the shows he has given

¹ *Offici fructum* has given rise to a needless variety of interpretation. Wieland's rendering 'a recompense for *his* services' is doubtfully followed by Mr. Watson, who understands a totally different verb such as *praestare* out of *quaerere*. Metzger's and Hofmann's 'a recompense for *my* services' would have shocked Cicero to see thus nakedly expressed. The rendering given above is perfectly simple and suits the context. *Officium* and *pietas* are here used in the same sense as in the opening of Letter xxi. : *pietas* being much the stronger, because it implies *personal* affection. The fruits looked for need be no more than success, but they probably include the prestige that success would carry with it.

them, and his generous disposition ;—the sympathy of our young bloods, and all the people who are most influential in getting votes, thanks to his own remarkable influence, or perhaps it is rather his activity in that line ;—my own vote and interest, which if not so powerful as the rest has at least stood some trial, and is his right and due, and may therefore even carry some weight. What we absolutely require is a leader and a guiding mind—one who will know how to use these winds I have been describing, and be as it were our pilot. Now had we to select one man for our purpose out of all the world, there is nobody we could even name beside you. Therefore if you can believe that I am unforgetful, if a true and grateful man to my friends—which the fact that I am working so earnestly for Milo perhaps may show—if, in short, you deem me a worthy recipient for your kindness, this is the favour I have to ask : help me in this anxiety of mine, and devote your support now to the side on which my honour, or, to tell the plain truth, I may almost say my safety, is involved. As to Titus Annius Milo himself, I can promise you this much, that you will not find a man anywhere of more resolution, earnestness, consistency, or if you will but espouse his cause, more gratitude : while as for me, you will be heaping upon me such an honour, and such a distinction, that I shall readily recognise in the building up of my reputation the same hand that once worked for my preservation. I would write at greater length did I not feel sure that you perceive, from my saying thus much to you, how deeply I am pledged, and how I must exert myself on Milo's behalf in this contest, not only straining every nerve, but also meeting every encounter I now only commend the matter and his cause to you, and together with it surrender my very self into your hands. Of this at least be well assured : that when you have granted me this favour, I shall feel my debt to you to be almost greater than to Milo himself: for my own preservation, which I owe in so large a degree to him, is scarcely so dear to me as the thought is pleasant that I may now show my affection by returning his kindness. And for this I fully believe I need only your concurrence to insure success.

XXXI. (AD ATT. V. II.)

FROM CICERO AT ATHENS TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

July 6, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

There is a considerable interval between this and the preceding Letter.

The year 53 B.C. was signalised by the ill-starred expedition of Crassus into Syria, ending with his total defeat at Carrhae, and murder at Sinnaca, June 9. This not only imperilled the Roman empire in the East, but materially helped to precipitate the civil war, by leaving Caesar without a make-weight to Pompeius ; and the death of Caesar's daughter Julia, the dearly-loved wife of Pompeius, in 54 B.C., had sundered a strong tie between the rivals. The growing breach was made manifest when Pompeius now refused to marry Octavia, the grand-daughter of Caesar's sister, choosing instead the daughter of so typical a member of the senatorial party as Quintus Metellus Scipio. For the death of Clodius, and the election of Pompeius as Sole Consul, see Introduction to the preceding Letter.

The consuls for 51 B.C. were Marcus Claudius Marcellus, a vehement leader of the senatorial party, and the more moderate and learned Servius Sulpicius Rufus. Attacks on Caesar, direct and indirect, were numerous, the one which apparently caused the greatest sensation being an outrageous act of Marcellus. Caesar had extended, perhaps irregularly, to the Transpadane Gauls, that is to Upper Italy, the privileges at least of the Latins, and possibly of full Roman citizens (see esp. Mommsen, iv. 312, 351, 360 ; and Mr. Watson's note on § 2 of this Letter, and compare Introd. to Letter lxxvi.) ; but Marcellus seized an opportunity to scourge an eminent senator, if not a magistrate, of Novum Comum (Como), bidding him go and show the marks to his patron.

An act of Pompeius in his sole consulship provided that no one should be eligible for the Governorship of a Province until after five years from his time of office ; and a clause was appended by the Senate that all ex-consuls and ex-praetors who had not yet served should be compelled to draw for a province. In this way Cicero, much against his will, became Governor of Cilicia, a large province which included all the southern half of Asia Minor and the island of Cyprus. His predecessor was Appius Claudius Pulcher, elder brother of Publius Clodius, who had ravaged, plundered, and oppressed the province in the usual proconsular way. (Compare Mommsen, iv. 529-533 ; Beesly, Catiline, 4-9 ; De Quincey, Essay on Cicero, quoted by Forsyth, 308 ; Introduction to Letter xv.) Cicero's own administration seems to have been just, considerate, and popular, and to have deserved a considerable part of the praises of it which fill his letters of this period ; but he cannot be acquitted of injustice to the Salaminians (Letters xxxvi. xxxviii.), except by comparison with other proconsuls.

Mommsen, iv. 328-347 ; Merivale, ii. 1-27, 75-100 ; Long, iv. ch. 15, 16, 22, 23 ; Abeken, 217-263 ; Forsyth, ch. 17.

Whew ! can I have been writing so often to Rome, and never a line to you ? Well, henceforth I will waste a letter

rather than commit the crime of not sending one at all, provided I find anybody to whom I can safely entrust it. As you hope to be happy, now while you are on the spot use every scheme that may be schemed to prevent my governorship from being prolonged. Nobody knows how I am burning with desire for town ; how I can scarcely bear the distastefulness of everything over here.

2 This is most abominable about Marcellus and the citizen of Comum : even supposing the man proves not to have held office, yet at any rate he was a Transpadane. Therefore it seems to me he has stirred our friend's bile as much as Caesar's; 3 but this he must look to himself. As to Pompeius, I myself fancied, as you say Varro tells you, that he is sure to go to Spain. I could not at all approve of this:¹ in fact, I easily persuaded Theophanes that the best possible course was that he should go nowhere at all. So the Greek will put the pressure on, and his advice counts for a good deal with his chief.

4 I send this July 6, on leaving Athens, where I have been stopping just ten days. Pomptinus is arrived, and with him Gnaeus Volusius ; the quaestor² too is here, and nobody but your friend Tullius away. I have some open boats of the Rhodians, and biremes of the Mytileneans, besides a good number of the ordinary *chaloupes*. There is no news about the Parthians. Heaven help us for what is coming.

5 So far, I have made my way through Greece amid great applause ; nor have I had anything to complain of, I give you my word, among my own people ; they seem to be fully aware of my aims, and the conditions on which they attend me ; beyond a doubt they sacrifice themselves to my reputation. For the future, if there be any truth in the saying '*tel maître*',³ they will certainly persevere ; for they shall never see me do a single thing in any way that would justify delinquency in

¹ See Letter xci. note 1.

² Probably Lucius Mescinius Rufus (Watson). One *Quintus Volusius* is mentioned as in command in Letter xxxvi. He may be the Volusius mentioned here, with a mistake of his *praenomen* in one passage or the other.

³ 'Tel maitre, tel valet,' corresponding to the Greek 'You may know the mistress by her lap-dog' (Plato, Rep. viii. p. 563), and to our 'Like master, like man.'

them. If this however should entirely fail I shall have to adopt severer measures ; for hitherto, with my lenient inclinations, I have been mild with them, and hope I am doing some good. But for my own part I have calculated on this '*sofferenza*' (as our Sicilian friends call it) only for a year ; so be my champion, or, if my term is prolonged at all, I may be found an impostor.

To return now to your commissions. As to the prefects. ⁶ any of them you wish shall have exemption from service : send me their names,⁴ and I will not be so *difficile* as I was about Appuleius. I like Xenon as much as you do, and I am sure he is sensible of it. I have brought you into high favour with Patron⁵ and the rest of the stupid school, and upon my word you have deserved it of me, for the man told me three times over you had written to him that after his letter I had taken pains to do what he wanted,⁵ and that gave him immense pleasure. But though Patron had appealed to me to ask of your High Court that they would rescind the *arrêté* they had passed in Polycharmus's year, both Xenon and eventually Patron too thought it would be more convenient for me to write to Memmius (who had started for Mytilene the very day before I arrived at Athens) and get him to send word to his agents that he had no opposition to make to this ; for Xenon was positive that the Areopagus could not be got to grant this favour without the consent of Memmius. Now Memmius had already abandoned his intention of building, but was annoyed with Patron, so I wrote him a letter in carefully chosen terms, a copy of which I enclose.

Please say something comforting to Pilia which might ⁷

⁴ The sentence might just possibly be translated thus as it stands, but *excusatio*, = discharge or exemption, is only found in Ulpian, and there can be little doubt that the word is corrupt. Gronovius, Boot, and Orelli suspect it to be a corruption of *negotiator*, alluding to Cicero's refusal to appoint any one in trade to a military command.—Letter xxxvi. § 10.

⁵ Gaius Memmius, now in banishment for bribery (see Letter xxviii. § 7), had obtained a grant of the venerable ruins of Epicurus's house, on which, there being no Ancient Monuments Act in those days, he intended to build. This scandalised the Epicurean philosophers, whom Cicero describes as 'the stupid school,' and they procured his mediation with Memmius. The letter alluded to is still extant (Ad Fam. xiii. 1). See Forsyth, 315 ; Abeken, 222 ; Munro on Lucretius, i. 41.

naturally come from me⁶—I will tell you why I give you this hint, only not a word of it to her. The fact is that I received a budget of letters, and among them was one from Pilia. I took it out, opened and read it. The tone of the letter was entirely *sympathique*. Those which you received from Brundisium were of course sent off without one from me because I was then far from well, so you must not take this excuse as being a mere *banalité*.⁷ Mind you let me be informed of everything, and particularly keep yourself well.

XXXII. (AD ATT. V. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT SYNNAS IN PHRYGIA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

August, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

1 I am on the march, indeed at this very moment on the road, but the messengers of the tax-contractors are just about to start, and though we are moving along I thought I must snatch a moment, lest you should fancy I had forgotten your injunction. Accordingly I am now sitting by the road-side to send a few jottings about things which really want a fuller
 2 explanation. I assure you that about my arrival on the last day of July in this province, broken down and hopelessly ruined as it is, there were immense expectations. I stayed three days at Laodicea, three at Apamea, and the same at Synnas. Everywhere it has been the same story: [that they cannot pay] the *taille* which has been imposed in the form of a poll-tax; that everybody has had to sell out of his *placement*;¹

⁶ Pilia was the wife of Atticus (compare Letter xxiii. § 7), and had apparently written to Quintus Cicero, to condole with him on the unhappy temper of his wife Pomponia, Atticus's sister. For *meis verbis* compare Letter cxxii. § 8. It cannot mean 'give her a message from me,' because Cicero expressly charges Atticus not to tell her about opening the letter. On Cicero's lax morality in this respect compare Forsyth, 315; Letters xvi. § 8; xlvi. § 4; lxxxi. § 2.

⁷ This word *vouλανδπλα* is corrupt, and none of the suggestions for it are very happy, but the sense is fairly clear. Some word meaning 'hackneyed' (*vouλαν*, Boot, *vouμην*, Billerbeck) seems to be included in it.

¹ The meaning of *ωνάς* is not very clear, except that it is certainly meant to be in sharp contrast to *venditas*. It may be either investments (*emptiones*),

that there are groans and cries from every district ; things often not like the acts of a human being, but of some monstrous beast. In short, their life is simply a burden to them. Still 3 the wretched cities are finding some relief in having no expense whatever to incur, either for myself, or my staff, or my paymaster, or anybody. I must tell you that I not only decline to accept forage, and all that is usually allowed us under Caesar's act,² but even fire-wood : none of us in fact accepts a single thing beyond four beds and the shelter of a roof ; in many places not even the roof, and we not uncommonly stay in our tent. The consequence is that there is astonishing enthusiasm about coming to greet us from the country, from the villages, and from every house. I solemnly declare that my coming here, if nothing else, seems to be making them lift their heads again under the just, forbearing, and merciful rule of your Cicero ; he has so exceeded all expectation. Appius, when he heard 4 of our approach, flung himself into a corner of the province, as far as Tarsus in fact, where he holds his court. I hear nothing about the Parthians, but the people who come from Syria report that our cavalry has been cut to pieces by some wild hordes. Bibulus does not even yet think of going to his province : the reason of this they say is that he does not want to leave any earlier than he can help. I am hurrying on to reach our camp, which is two days distant.

XXXIII. (AD FAM. VIII. 4.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

August 1, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

Cicero's principal correspondent during his government of Cilicia, as we have no letters of Atticus, was Caelius Rufus, tribune of the preceding year and aedile in the next. These letters are so interesting and important that a separate edition of his correspondence with Cicero has been published (by Suringar, Leiden, 1846). Letters xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv. and xli. are from him. Abeken says of them (p. 253) that 'they serve by their triviality to convince

as Orelli renders it, or contracts for taxes (Lidd. and Scott), which the contractors had to get rid of at a ruinous sacrifice.

² For the provisions of this Act see Long, iii. 441.

us of Cicero's superiority,' but this is an unfair judgment. The style differs somewhat from Cicero's, and a few unusual and perhaps rough phrases have been pointed out, but they have a vigour and piquant flavour of their own, and he is known to have been quite in the front rank both of the orators and the literary men of his time. Like most Romans, however, he was absolutely blind to the momentous issues of the coming struggle, and seems far more concerned about the gossip of the elections and the chance of getting panthers out of the Governor of Cilicia for the public games than the movements of Pompeius and Caesar. M. Boissier (*Cicéron et ses amis*) justly selects him as the type of young Rome.

The principal events alluded to in this letter are the election to the consulship of Gaius Claudius Marcellus (a cousin of both his predecessor and his successor, and of the same politics with them) and Lucius Aemilius Paulus; the candidature of Gaius Curio, often mentioned in these letters, for the tribuneship, in which he was successful; and the continually growing murmurs in the Senate about Caesar's recall.

The history of the diplomatic war between Pompeius and Caesar preceding the appeal to the sword is given with great brilliancy by Mommsen, iv. 346-361; compare Merivale, ii. 95-122.

- 1** I am quite envious of you: you have every day such a quantity of news arriving to be a surprise. First of all there is the fact of Messalla's acquittal, followed immediately by his conviction; then that Gaius Marcellus has been elected consul; that Marcus Calidius immediately on his defeat was impeached by the brothers Gallius; and that Dolabella has been elected into the Fifteen.¹ One thing I do not envy you for is missing a splendid sight, in not having seen the face of Lentulus Crus when he was not elected! How confident he was, to be sure, and how safe he thought he was when he entered! and that with Dolabella himself so doubtful of success! Indeed, by Jove, if our good friends of the equestrian order had not been more sharp-sighted he would have been likely enough to win his election from his adversary
- 2** retiring. One event I suppose you were not surprised at, that Servaeus, the tribune elect, was convicted. Gaius Curio is a candidate for his place. I quite admit that he inspires considerable suspicion in a great many people, who do not know him and his kindly nature; but I hope and trust, as we may judge from the way he is conducting himself, that he will be all for the right men and for the Senate. In his present state

¹ The Fifteen (*Quindecim viri*) was a sacred college which had charge of the Sibylline books, and could thus exercise a powerful political influence. See an instance in the Introd. to Letter xxi.

he is oozing this from every pore ; and the cause and beginning of his present leanings is that Caesar, though he will always win the affections of the veriest dregs of the people at any cost, has slighted him not a little : and by the bye the prettiest thing to have happened, as it seems to me, and as other people too [before now] have noticed, is that Curio, who never acts upon calculation, should now be thought to show great foresight and cunning in upsetting the plans of those who had thrust themselves forward against him for the tribuneship : such as the Laelii and Antonii, and that sort of influential people.

I have been a longer time than usual in sending you this ³ letter, because the adjournments of the elections have kept me too busy, and made me every day be expecting the final result, when I could let you know about things after all was settled. I have now waited positively until the 1st of August. Several delays have befallen the election of praetors. As to my own, I do not know how that will end ; but, at any rate, as to Hirrus's chance we had an amazingly plain hint in the election of aediles. For that stupid suggestion of Caelius Vinicianus, which we had laughed down ever so long ago, and his proposed Bill for a dictatorship, suddenly crushed him first, and then became a grand cry following him up after his defeat ; since which time they have all now been bawling that Hirrus is not to be elected. I hope you will very shortly hear, all in one, the news about me which you hoped for, and about him which you hardly ventured to hope for. As to ⁴ politics, we had already quite given up hoping for any change : in the meeting of the Senate however at the temple of Apollo on the 22nd of July, when it was proposed to vote a grant for the troops of Pompeius, attention was called to the legion which he had transferred to Caesar²—whose was it to be reckoned ? how long was it asked for ? and so on. Pompeius replied that it was now in Gaul, but [he] was compelled to promise that he would withdraw the legion, though not immediately, only after insinuations and invective from his detractors. This led to questions about the appointment of

² See Introd. to Letter xxxv.

a successor to Caesar. To settle this question [I mean about the provinces] it was decided that Pompeius should return to Rome at the earliest opportunity, so that he might be present at the appointment of successors to the various provinces ; for he was then just about to start for Ariminum, where his army was, and did indeed set out immediately. We shall have a debate on this question, I imagine, on the 13th. Unquestionably some arrangement will have to be made, or there will be a scandalous use of the veto ; for in the debate Pompeius pointedly dropped this expression, that to the orders of the Senate *everybody* owed obedience. Still, for my own part, there is nothing I look forward to so much as having Paulus give us his opinion first as the consul elect.

5 I am somewhat persistent in reminding you of that bond of Sittius, but I want you to recognise that it is a matter which touches me nearly ; also about those panthers—to get you to send for some from Cibyra, and give orders for their being shipped out to me. Then, again, I have had news—and they say it is a certainty now—that the King of Alexandria is dead. Do be sure to write and let me know what steps you would recommend my taking, what state his kingdom is in, and who is acting on his behalf.

Aug. 1.

XXXIV. > (AD FAM. VIII. 8.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

Early in October, 703 A.V.C. (51 B.C.)

The breach between the two rulers was now becoming daily more open, as is illustrated by § 9 of this letter. Since the Pompeio-Licinian act of 55 B.C. forbade the discussion of Caesar's successor until the beginning of his last year of office, the filling up of his proconsulship by the Senate was placed, with the consent of Pompeius, in the order of the day for March 1, 50 B.C. Caelius encloses also in his letter three resolutions : (1) that no one be allowed to hinder this discussion ; (2) that the claims of Caesar's soldiers to a discharge be brought before the Senate, which was an attempt to break up Caesar's army ; (3) that provision be made for the government of the nine praetorian provinces by ex-praetors only, which was apparently an attempt to diminish the number of provinces available for ex-consuls, and so to strengthen the argument for Caesar's recall by the necessity for circulation in the prizes of a consulship. (See Mr. Watson's note on the passage.) All three were of course

vetoed by the tribunes in Caesar's interest. It must be remembered that the vital necessity for Caesar was not to resign the proconsulship until he was safely assured of the consulship, or he would inevitably be impeached. By the law as it stood before 54 B.C. no successor could be appointed to him until the autumn of 49, by which time Caesar would be a consul, and safe from impeachment. But by Pompeius's new Act his vacancy would be filled up reckoning from the day it legally began, viz. March 1. To put the debate in the order for that day, therefore, was to intimate that the letter of the law thus altered would be put in force. This was a *casus belli*.

Mommsen, iv. 348-352; Merivale, ii. 95-99; Long, iv. App. ii.; Abeken, 261-263; Forsyth, 342-344.

Though I have some politics to tell you there is nothing in 1 my budget that will, I fancy, give you greater pleasure than this. Learn then that Sempronius Rufus—[your dear Rufus] the apple of your eye, you know—has been convicted, amid loud applause, of bringing a false accusation with malice! How was that? Why, after the Roman games he laid an information under Plotius's act against Marcus Tuccius, who was the plaintiff against him, for breaking the peace, with this object: he knew that if there was no other defendant with a prior right to be tried on the list, his case would have to come on in the present year, and of course he could not have any doubt then what the result would be. So there being nobody it would give him greater pleasure to oblige with this little trifle than his own prosecutor, without even getting a soul to back him in the charge, down he came and laid information against Tuccius. As for myself, the moment I heard of it off I go, without waiting to be asked, and take my place in the defendant's box. Rising to speak, I avoid saying a word about the case itself, but run Sempronius down in every corner so mercilessly as even to bring in all about Vestorius and the old story, how 'purely as a favour to you' he allowed Vestorius to claim what it was so very unfair for him to have to pay.

We have another important disputed case, too, which is 2 now occupying the courts. Marcus Servilius, having come to the complete smash to which he had been leading up, and not having a thing left that was not for sale, had been passed on to me as a client with a terribly bad reputation. When Laterensis, who was praetor, refused to entertain an application for recovery against those into whose hands the money had passed, in spite of the expostulations of Pausanias—I was

acting for the defendant—notice of an action for embezzlement was given by Quintus Pilius, some relation of our friend Atticus. The news at once spread widely, and people began to talk warmly about a conviction. This shifting of the wind drove young Appius into stating in evidence that a large sum out of his father's wealth had been paid over to Servilius. £70,000, he avowed, had been placed in his hands to procure a collusion on the part of the accuser! ‘What amazing folly!’ you say; but oh, if you had heard the trial itself, and the confessions he made! They were idiotic enough even about ³ himself, but iniquitous as about his own father. Well, he gets the same bench of jurors who had assessed the original fine to try his case. On the whole number of votes proving to be equal, Laterensis, knowing nothing of law, announced that the decision had been given by a majority of votes in the three orders taken separately, and ended the case in the usual form that ‘no restitution would be required.’ After the court broke up, however, when people had begun to talk of Servilius as already acquitted, he read section 101 of the Act, part of which ran thus: ‘A verdict of the majority of the whole number of jurors in the case shall be accepted as final, and judgment pronounced accordingly.’ Consequently he refused to enter an acquittal, but reported the verdicts of the different orders; but as Appius recommenced his suit, he conferred with Lucius Lollius, and said he would enter an acquittal. So as matters now stand, Servilius, being neither acquitted nor condemned, will be handed over, somewhat damaged by his battle, to the mercies of Pilius on a charge of peculation. For Appius, after taking the oath that it was a *bona fide* charge, did not venture to dispute the right to prosecute, but retired in favour of Pilius, and has now himself been impeached by the family of Servilius for peculation; and to crown it all, he has had information laid against him for a breach of public order by a certain spy of his own, one Sextus Tettius. Nicely matched, that pair!

⁴ As for politics, absolutely nothing has been done for days, because we are waiting to know about the Gallic provinces. At length, however, after frequent postponements and the fullest discussion, and when it had been ascertained beyond doubt that Pompeius's inclinations were in favour of passing a

resolution for his rival to be recalled after the 1st of March, the enclosed decree was passed, and the following orders entered on the minutes.

COPY OF THE DECREE.

By order of the Senate, meeting in the temple of Apollo, this 5
29th day of September.

We the undersigned were present at the drawing up of this decree.

Name.	Father's Name.	Tribe.
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus . . .	Gnaeus.	Fabia.
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio	Quintus.	Fabia.
Lucius Villius Annalis . . .	Lucius.	Pomptina.
Gaius Septimius . . .	Titus.	Quirina.
Gaius Lucilius Hirrus . . .	Gaius.	Pupinia.
Gaius Scribonius Curio . . .	Gaius.	Popilia.
Lucius Ateius Capito . . .	Lucius.	Aniensis.
Marcus Eppius . . .	Marcus.	Teretina.

Whereas the consul Marcus Marcellus has brought before this House the question concerning the provinces to be assigned only to such as have held the office of consul :¹ be it resolved that Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus, consuls elect, shall after their entry upon office, from the 1st day of March next, falling during their term of office, bring the question of the consular provinces before the consideration of this House ; and that this motion shall from the 1st of March take precedence of all other motions before the House, nor shall the consuls propose any other in combination with it. For this purpose it shall be lawful to hold a meeting of the Senate, whose decrees shall be valid upon a day of election ; and when the consuls bring the question before the notice of the House, it shall then be lawful to summon such members of it as may be on the roll of the three hundred jurors. If on the aforesaid question there be any matter requiring the assent of the people

¹ Mr. Watson says (Appendix vi. p. 290) : 'Consular provinces in this passage must mean those which under the "*Lex Pompeia de iure magistratum*" would be governed by "*consulares*." For its usual meaning—those to be assigned to the next consuls—is excluded by the enactment of that law which interposed an interval of five years between the consulship and the government of a consular province.'

assembled, whether in their centuries or their tribes, be it hereby resolved that Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus, the consuls for the present year, with the praetors and the tribunes of the people, or such of their number as may be agreed upon, shall propose such question to the people assembled in their centuries or their tribes: the which if they shall fail to carry, their successors in the above offices shall propose the same to the assembly of the burghers or plebeians.²

Against this decree no protest was recorded.

6 Minutes of resolutions of the Senate, meeting in the temple of Apollo, this 29th day of September.

We the undersigned were present at the drawing up of this decree.

Name.	Father's Name.	Tribe.
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus . . .	Gnaeus.	Fabia.
Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio	Quintus.	Fabia.
Lucius Villius Annalis . . .	Lucius.	Pomptina.
Gaius Septimius . . .	Titus.	Quirina.
Gaius Lucilius Hirrus . . .	Gaius.	Pupinia.
Gaius Scribonius Curio . . .	Gaius.	Popilia.
Lucius Ateius Capito . . .	Lucius.	Aniensis.
Marcus Eppius . . .	Marcus.	Teretina.

Whereas the consul Marcus Marcellus has brought before this House the question concerning the allotment of provinces, be it resolved:

(1) That in the opinion of this House it will be highly inexpedient that any of the magistrates who possess the right of veto or adjournment should interpose any delay whereby this House may be prevented from discussing that which affects the welfare of the Roman state and people, and legislating thereon; whosoever therefore shall so veto or adjourn the question will in the opinion of this House have made himself a public enemy. If any magistrate shall veto this resolution, be it hereby resolved that a formal proposal shall be drawn up and referred to the decision of the Senate and people.

² Mr. Watson explains *populum plebem* of the *comitia centuriata* and *tributa*, but Mommsen (*Röm. Forsch.* i. 194) refers *plebem* to a *concilium plebis* from which patricians were excluded.

We the undersigned record our veto on the above resolution:—

Gaius Caelius	}	Tribunes of the people.
Lucius Vinicius		
Publius Cornelius		
Gaius Vibius Pansa		

(2) Resolved concerning the soldiers in the army of Caesar, 7 that those who have completed their time of service, or can advance any other plea, which plea would entitle them to a discharge, shall have their case brought before this House for consideration and investigation of the pleas. If any magistrate veto this resolution, it shall be formally drawn up, and the proposal referred to the decision of this House.

We the undersigned record our veto on the above resolution:—

Gaius Caelius	}	Tribunes of the people.
Gaius Pansa		

(3) Resolved by this House with regard to the province of 8 Cilicia, and the eight other provinces now under the government of such persons as have held the office of praetor: that such former praetors as have not yet held a provincial Government with full military powers, but have a claim to be appointed by decree of this House to a provincial Government with full military power, shall be appointed to these provinces by lot. If out of the number of those who have a claim to be appointed to a province by decree of this House there be not enough to fill the vacancies in the provinces, the appointment to those provinces shall be filled up by lot in the order of seniority of election of the praetors for each year out of the number of those who have never been appointed to a province. If these fail to make up the required number, then in succession from the praetors of each year according to seniority of election those who have held that office and have not yet been appointed to a province shall be admitted to the allotment, until the required number of allotments to these provinces be completed. If any magistrate veto this resolution, it shall be drawn up as a formal proposal.

We the undersigned enter our veto on the above resolution:—

Gaius Caelius	}	Tribunes of the people.
Gaius Pansa		

Besides these, there was some commenting on the indications let fall by Pompeius, which were the principal confirma- 9

tion of the general impression :—how he said that before the 1st of March it would be out of order for him to interfere with Caesar's command of his province, but that after that time he should have no hesitation. On the question being raised, 'what if any one should then interpose a veto?' he replied that it was a matter of indifference whether it should prove that Caesar openly refused to obey the Senate or suborned a magistrate to obstruct its decrees. 'What if,' suggested somebody else, 'he should wish to be consul and yet to keep his army?' 'What if,' he answered—wasn't it kindly put?—'my own son should want to lay the stick on my back?' By such expressions Pompeius brought about a general impression that business was meant between him and Caesar; so, as far as I can see now, Caesar intends to consent to one of these two alternatives: either to remain where he is, and not have his name entered for this year, or submit to be recalled if he can 10 first make his election safe. Curio is gathering himself up against him with all his might.³ What he may be able to do, I know not: this I see, that a man of honest views, though he may have produced no visible effect, cannot altogether fail. Curio treats me with great generosity, and indeed his liberality has caused me some trouble, for if he had not given me the wild animals which were sent him from Africa for the show, this might have been dispensed with. As it is, since I must exhibit them, I hope you will be sure to see, as I have perpetually been asking you, that I get a stock of wild beasts sent out from you; and I recommend to your notice too that bill on Sittius. I have sent my freedman Philo and a Greek, Diogenes, to your province, and have entrusted them with papers and letters for you. Will you kindly see after them and the business on which I have sent them, for how nearly it affects me I have pointed out in the letter which they will deliver to you.

³ Compare the next Letter.

XXXV. (AD FAM. VIII. 6.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO AT LAODICEA

February, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

Curio, 'the most eminent among the many brilliant profligates of this epoch' (compare Introd. to Letter xxx.), had been carefully playing the independent republican, waiting for the price to be offered by Pompeius or Caesar. Caesar, who had previously bribed the consul Paulus, now accepted Curio's terms, and he used his opportunity skilfully. Lucan indeed (Phars. iv. 819) attaches special importance to his conversion: '*momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.*' He proposed that all generals holding extraordinary commands should lay them down simultaneously; and his motion was carried by 370 to 22. Caesar at once announced his willingness to comply if Pompeius would do so also, knowing that the latter without his command would be helpless; thus again securing the advantage of apparent submission to the Senate. When moreover it was decided by the Senate to withdraw a legion from each general for the Parthian war, Caesar not only complied, but surrendered also at the demand of Pompeius a legion which had been lent him by his rival, but had practically become one of his own; a concession not perhaps so dangerous as it was thought, considering the nearness of the Civil War, since Caesar was assured of the soldiers' devotion to himself.

Mommsen, iv. 352-355; Merivale, ii. 110-112; Abeken, 263-267; Forsyth, 343, 344.

Of course you must have heard the news that Appius ¹ has been impeached by Dolabella, but with far less popular feeling against him than I had expected. In fact Appius has made by no means a bad move, for as soon as Dolabella had lodged the charge he returned within the walls and withdrew his application for a triumph, by which proceeding he has taken the edge off our sarcasms, and shown himself more ready than his accuser had looked for. His hopes depend now mainly on you. I am sure at heart you do not hate him, and it is in your power now to lay him under any obligation you please. If you had never been on bad terms with him you would have had the whole question more open; but as things are now, if you strictly measure his claims by the ideal standard of fitness, you must mind lest people think that your reconciliation was not really frank and sincere. Besides, it will be quite safe for you to bestow any favour you may find yourself inclined for in this quarter, because nobody will then say it was only family ties or intimacy that deterred you from

doing your duty. That reminds me that between the first application to prosecute and the posting of the name in court
 2 Dolabella's wife has left him. I have not forgotten your instructions to me when you left,¹ and you, I suppose, have not lost sight of what I wrote to you. This not being the time now for saying more, I can only give you one piece of advice; should you not feel disinclined to the idea, still do not let him see anything of your willingness; wait to see how he comes out of this affair. In fact² it would do you a good deal of harm if it once got about; and moreover if he has any hint of it before the time, it will be made more public than either prudence or a regard for appearances would allow: he will be quite unable to conceal a circumstance happening so opportunely for his hopes, and likely to be so much more generally noticed through its helping him to effect his object; particularly as he is just the man who, though he knew that it would be ruin to him to talk about the matter, would almost
 3 certainly be unable to restrain himself. They say that Pompeius is working hard for Appius, so much so that it is even supposed he will send one or other of his sons to you. It is our way here to acquit everybody, and, on my honour, everything base and villainous is perfectly safely screened. As to our consuls, they set a fine example of energy: up to the present time they have not been able to carry through one single measure in the Senate, except to fix the date of the Latin festival!³ Our
 4 friend Curio's tribuneship is a very benumbed affair. In fact, I cannot describe how dull everything is here: if it were not for my quarrelling with the small shopkeepers and the water-companies there would be a lethargic stillness over all the country.⁴ If you find that the Parthians hardly keep you warm, we here are quite numb with the frost. Still, however he managed it without the help of the Parthians, Bibulus lost a bit of a cohort or two on Mount Amanus—such was the report.

¹ About finding another husband for Tullia. See Letter xxiii.

² But *sit* has no construction, and Wesenberg's *vide ne qua* for *denique* seems necessary.

³ Letter xxiv. § 2, note.

⁴ Wieland says, 'It was the deep calm before the outbreak of a terrible tempest; ' and Mr. Watson well adds that 'a modern reader may remember the early summer of 1870.'

P.S.—I told you above that Curio was freezing, but he finds it warm enough just at present, everybody being hotly engaged in pulling him to pieces. For just because he failed to get an intercalary month, without the slightest ado he has stepped over to the popular side, and begins to harangue in favour of Caesar; and he has been throwing out phrases about a Commission of Roads, not unlike the agrarian law of Rullus, and a distribution of food to be measured out by the aediles to the people. He had not done this at the time when I wrote the first part of this letter.

An you love me, if you mean to do anything for Appius to help him, let me have the credit of it with him. As to Dolabella, my advice is, do not compromise yourself: this line of action is the best, not only for the object to which I allude, but for your position, and reputation for integrity. It will be a shame if you do not let me have some Greek⁴ panthers.

XXXVI. (AD ATT. V. 21.)

FROM CICERO AT LAODICEA TO ATTICUS AT BUTHROTUM.

Feb. 13, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

This letter, like the 15th (see Introd. to that), illustrates the pressure put upon a Roman Governor to make or wrest the law in the interest of his private friends. The conduct of Marcus Brutus, the typical representative of Roman aristocratic virtues, who was the real lender of the usurious loan to the town-council of Salamis, and who by his agent starved five of them to death to obtain the payment of his illegal bond, sets Cicero's by comparison in a highly favourable light; though the latter, with his usual love of a weak compromise, only refused personally to do a gross injustice to the poor people of Salamis, and left the question open for his presumably unscrupulous successor.

Merrivale, i. 333; Long, iv. ch. 24, 25; Abeken, 241-245; Forsyth, 325-328. On the threatening attitude of the Parthians, see Mommsen, iv. 338.

I am exceedingly glad that you have got safe to Epirus, and had, as you tell me, an agreeable passage, but a little vexed that you should not be in Rome at such an intensely critical time for me; though indeed I can console myself by thinking

⁴ *I.e.* from the Hellenised countries of Asia.

that you are not likely to have a cheerful winter there, or enjoy stopping where you are.¹

2 That first letter, the meaning of which you want me to explain, from Gaius Cassius, the brother of your friend Quintus Cassius, is a more modest one to write than the one he sent afterwards, where he announces that he has brought the Parthian war to a conclusion ! It is true they had retreated from Antioch before Bibulus came up, but it was no very brilliant *journée* for us, whereas at the present moment they are wintering in Cyrrhestica, and a very serious war is impending. Not only is the son of the Parthian king Orodes inside our territory, but Deiotarus, whose son is betrothed to the daughter of Artavasdes (and the information might come from him), has no doubt whatever that the king himself, when summer comes, will at once cross the Euphrates with all his forces. And on the very same day—the 7th of October—that Cassius's triumphant letter was read in the Senate, came mine announcing the rising. Our friend Axius says mine was regarded as most important, while he tells me that nobody believed the other. Bibulus's had not yet arrived ; his, I know for certain, will be full of anxiety. All this makes me fear lest, Pompeius not being allowed to leave Rome at all from the dread of an outbreak, and the Senate refusing to grant any special privileges to Caesar, members should think that till this knot can be untied I ought not to return home before a successor has been appointed ; or that while things are in such a disturbed state, it is not right to leave such important provinces each to the charge of a mere deputy. Thus I dread lest there should be some extension of my time, which nobody could even stop with his veto, and all the more because you, who would be sure to meet many of my difficulties with your good advice, and influence and sympathy, are now away. [Still] you will say I am simply creating these anxieties for myself. I cannot help it, and hope it may prove to be so ; but I am nervous about everything. However, that was a very pretty *finale* to the letter you sent me from Buthrotum while you were still sea-sick : that, as far as you could see, there would be nothing, you hoped, to prevent my

¹ This is, perhaps, ponderous humour ; but Madvig reads *uno* for *non*.

return home. I should have liked the ‘as far as you could see’ better without the hoping; that was not wanted at all. I got too at Iconium, and with hardly any delay, thanks to ⁴ the messengers of the tax-contractors, one written immediately after the triumph of Lentulus. You repeat in it your *aigre-doux* mixture, that I shall have no delay, but add immediately that if things go wrong you will come out to me. Your hesitation tortures me: at the same time this will show you which letters they are that I have received. For I never got the one which you yourself tell me you gave to Hermon, the freedman of Canuleius the centurion. You had frequently mentioned that you entrusted one to the slaves of Laenius: this, dated September 21, was delivered to me at last at Laodicea by Laenius in person, after my arrival there, on the 11th of February. I will show Laenius, not only by promises for the moment, but by substantial proofs as long as I stay, how I value a recommendation from you. This letter only contained ⁵ what was stale news, with one exception, I mean about those panthers from Cibyra. You are a dear good fellow for telling Marcus Octavius it was not likely: only do for the future say ‘no’ positively to whatever you are not positively certain about. For my good resolutions were pretty firm of themselves, but having them fired, as upon my honour they were, by your approval, I have now outstripped everybody (you will find this is true), not merely in being considerate, but in justice, courtesy, and clemency. You will be greatly mistaken if you think that anything in the world ever caused more surprise than that during my government of this province there has not been a halfpenny of expense, either for public objects, or for any individual of my suite, except Lucius Tullius, my second in command. He, though scrupulous in other respects, has [nevertheless] overstepped Caesar’s act, though never more than once in a day, and not as others used to do in every town [and excepting him, no one has on any single occasion taken anything]; and so has compelled me to make him an exception, when I assert there has not been a halfpenny of expense; but leaving him out, no one has taken anything. For this discredit I am indebted to our friend Quintus Titinius.

After the summer campaign I gave the command of the ⁶

winter quarters and of Cilicia to my brother Quintus. I have sent Quintus Vclusius, the son-in-law of your friend Tiberius, a safe man and wonderfully little inclined to be grasping, to stay in Cyprus just for a day or two, lest the few Roman citizens who have business there should say the administration of justice was denied them, it not being allowable to summon
7 the Cypriots out of their island. I myself started from Tarsus for my Asiatic district on the 5th of January, and I declare I cannot tell you what enthusiasm I evoked from the states of Cilicia, and, above all, from the good people of Tarsus ; while, after I had crossed the Taurus, there was enormous expectation among my districts in Asia, which for the six months of my government had never received a requisition from me, never seen a man billeted on them. Now before my time that part of every year was spent in the following profitable way : the richer states used to be paying large sums not to have soldiers quartered on them for the winter ; the Cypriots indeed as much as £10,000, whereas from that island—I am speaking with no exaggeration, but strictly *au pied de la lettre*—not one single penny was exacted under my government. For these benefits, which seem to them astounding, I do not allow them to vote me any honours, except as a mere compliment: statues, temples, and *arcs de triomphe*² I absolutely forbid, nor in any other way do the towns groan under the infliction of me—though perhaps you do, for trumpeting all this about myself. Let it pass, an you love me: you yourself wanted me to do
8 so. The consequence was that I made such a progress through Asia, that even though there was a famine at the time, which is a most distressing sight, in this Asiatic district of mine, owing to the entire failure of the crops, it has been a thing to be proud of. Wherever I went, I have never had to employ force, or legal process, or insolent threats, but simply by my influence and recommendation I have induced the people, whether Greeks or Roman citizens, who had stowed away corn, to promise a large supply to their own towns.

9 I have appointed the 13th of February (the day on which I am writing this letter) for holding a court at Laodicea for

² Literally, statues representing the person thus honoured in a four-horse chariot.

Cibyra and Apamea ; from the 15th of March onwards one, which will also be here, for Synnas, Pamphylia (I will look about then for a *cor de chasse* for Phemius), Lycaonia, and Isauria ; after the 15th of May, I am off for Cilicia to spend June there—in peace, let us hope, as far as the Parthians are concerned. July, if all go well, we are to spend in passing through the province on our way back : for I entered my Government [at Laodicea] on the 31st of July, while Sulpicius and Marcellus were still consuls, and it will be the right thing for me to leave it on the 30th of July. I will first try hard to get my brother Quintus's consent to allowing himself to be left in charge, which will be as much against his will as mine, but it cannot now be decently avoided, especially since, even as it is, I cannot detain my excellent officer Pomptinus ; the good man has such an attraction to Rome in Postumius—not to say possibly in Postumia. But enough of my plans ; let me now tell you about Brutus.

Your friend Brutus is acquainted with certain individuals, 10 by name Marcus Scaptius and Publius Matinius, to whom the people of Salamis, in Cyprus, owe money, and whom he strongly recommended to my good offices. I know nothing of Matinius, but Scaptius came out to me to the camp. For Brutus's sake, I promised that I would enforce payment on the Salaminians, for which he thanked me. He asked for some post of command, but I said that I never appointed anybody engaged in money transactions, and that I had explained the same to you before : when Pompeius had applied to me I had shown him good reasons for my rule, not to mention Torquatus when he asked for your friend Laenius, as well as many others. If he wanted the post only for the sake of his bond I would take care he recovered it. He thanked me, and took his leave. Now my predecessor Appius had already given a few troops of horse to this Scaptius in order to coerce the Salaminians, and had appointed the man also to a command. He was now putting the screw on the people. I ordered that his troops should leave Cyprus. Scaptius was greatly aggrieved. Well, not to 11 make a long story, when the Salaminians came to apply to me at Tarsus, and with them Scaptius, I ordered them to pay the money, in fulfilment of my pledge to him. This produced

much about the bond itself and the violent proceedings of Scaptius, but I refused to listen. I advised them, even asked of them, in return for the favour I had shown their city, to settle the claim ; finally I told them that I must enforce it. The poor people, so far from refusing, even said they were only paying away what was mine, for as I had not exacted what they had always before had to give to the Governor, they were only giving up what was practically mine, and in fact the debt to Scaptius was considerably less than what their Governor usually exacted. I commended the deputation for this. Very good, said Scaptius, but let us see what the sum amounts to. Now when I published the usual edict, I had announced that I should maintain the rate of interest at 12 per cent, the interest on default to be added to the principal only at the end of each year ; but Scaptius by the terms of his bond now proceeded to demand 48 per cent. What do you mean ? say I. How can I possibly go against my own edict ? Hereupon he produces a decree of the Senate, dated from the consulship of Lentulus and Philippus, that the Governor of Cilicia for the time being should be required to recognise this bond as valid. I was horrified at first ; in fact, it was absolute ruin for the ¹² community. On examination I find *two* decrees of the Senate dated from that year about the very bond in question. For when the Salaminians wanted to borrow money at Rome they failed, because it was forbidden under Gabinius's act. Hereupon some friends of Brutus, relying on his powerful protection, were willing to lend the money at four times the usual rate, provided they could obtain security for payment by a special decree. Through Brutus's influence a decree is then passed exempting both the Salaminians and their creditors from the penalties of the law, and the money was duly handed over. Some time afterwards it occurred to these money-lenders that the decree was of no use to them, because Gabinius's act excluded the bond from being good in law at all. Then a decree was passed that the bond should be held valid, * * *³ but only for the usual rate of interest allowed in other cases. After I had explained this to be the meaning of the decree,

³ There is a slight lacuna here in the text, but the general meaning is clear.

Scaptius took me aside to say that he had nothing to urge against my decision, only that the people fancied they owed him 200 talents, and he would be willing to compromise for this sum, as they really owed him a trifle less; would I then induce them to pay the 200 in full? Very well, say I, and calling them to me, without letting Scaptius be present, I put the question: 'How much do you really owe?' One hundred and six talents, say they. I report to Scaptius, and the fellow begins to bluster. 'All we want, then,' say I, 'is for you to compare accounts.' Down they sit, and begin adding up the amount, which tallies to a penny. The deputation is quite prepared to pay the money down, and urges him to take it, but Scaptius, taking me aside again, begs me to leave the matter as it stands. I yielded to the fellow, cool as his proposal was, and refused the Greeks when they requested leave to deposit the money in some temple.⁴ All the people there were inclined to cry out that Scaptius was impudent to the last degree for not being satisfied with 12 per cent, with interest on default, and some that he was incredibly foolish. To me however it seems he was more impudent than foolish, for he had the choice between resting content with 12 per cent, recoverable at law, or making a doubtful debt in the hope of extorting 48 per cent. Here you have the statement of my 12 case, and if Brutus does not accept my explanation, I do not know why I should regard him as a friend. His uncle Cato will undoubtedly accept it, especially since quite lately the Senate has passed a decree, which, I suppose, was since you left, for the recovery of debts, making 12 per cent, simple interest, the legal rate. What a reduction this makes I feel certain you have already calculated, if I know the ready reckoning of your fingers' ends. And as to this subject—*en passant*—Lucius Lucceius (he is a son of Marcus Lucceius) writes to me complaining that there is great danger, for which the Senate and all these decrees are responsible, of our coming to a general repudiation; and dwells on the mischief

⁴ This was a clear injustice, because paying into a temple under a judicial decree was like paying money into court, and interest would at once have ceased to accrue.

Gaius Iulius⁵ did when he allowed payment to be deferred, were it but for the trifling period of a single day; never was anything more momentous to the State. But to return to the point. Put my case against Brutus carefully, if you can call it a case where nothing can fairly be said on the other side at all, especially since I have left this matter of his entirely open to my successor.

14 Everything else I have to say is about home matters. As to the *affaire de famille*, I should be quite willing, like you, to give my consent to Postumia's son,⁶ since Pontidia is only trifling with us; but how I wish you were there! You must not expect to hear from my brother Quintus for the next few months, because the snow makes the Taurus impassable before June. I am perpetually writing, as you ask me, to strengthen Thermus's hands. King Deiotarus declares that Publius Valerius has no money, but is, so he tells me, dependent upon him. As soon as you have heard whether they have inserted an intercalary month or not at Rome, I wish you would let me know definitely on what day the Mysteries will be. I am perhaps a shade less eager in looking for your letters than if you were at Rome, but still I do look for them.

XXXVII. (AD FAM. II. 13.)

FROM CICERO AT LAODICEA TO MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS.

(*An answer to Letter XXXV.*)

Early in May (?), 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

1 I find your letters only too infrequent (perhaps because they fail to reach me) but very welcome. The very last I had from you, how sound was its advice; no less friendly than judicious! Though indeed I had already come to the conclusion that I

⁵ It is very doubtful whether this refers to the Dictator, who is always called either C. Caesar or C. Iulius Caesar, nor has the particular measure been identified.

⁶ *I.e.* to Servius Sulpicius the younger as a husband for Tullia. Compare Letter xxxv. § 2, where Caelius proposes Dolabella, whom she eventually married.

ought to act as you recommended, still my judgment always feels itself much stronger when it coincides with that of a faithful and far-seeing friend.

For Appius, as I have often mentioned to you, I personally 2 entertain a strong affection, which I felt that he reciprocated immediately upon our reconciliation ; for during his consulship he was always most deferential to me, and a congenial friend, and one who enjoys the very same studies as I do myself. You, however, will bear me witness that he has not wanted for proofs of my regard, and I suppose you have Phania now, like the '*deus ex machina*' of a comedy, to back your testimony.¹ Indeed, I give you my word I esteemed him even higher than I should otherwise have done because I saw his regard for you. Then you know that I am heart and soul for Pompeius ; you can see my affection for Brutus.² Is there any reason why it should not be one of my most ardent wishes to attach myself to a man who has every advantage that the prime of life, wealth, position and talent, children and relatives, connexions and friends can give him ; above all, a colleague of my own, and one who, in devoting his learning to the praises of our foundation, has been very complimentary to myself ? I mention all this the more particularly because your letters seemed to hint at a shadow of doubt what my feeling was towards him. Some report I suppose you have heard : I assure you it is false if you have heard anything. My principles and practice have a certain amount of difference in character from his mode of administering a province :³ this perhaps had led certain people to suspect that my divergence

¹ This is not an exact equivalent, but it fairly represents the general idea, if, as is supposed, the 'comedy witness' means the omniscient person who appears in time to clear up all difficulties and make things end happily. Compare King Lear, i. 2, 118 : 'And pat he comes like the catastrophe of the old comedy.' Metzger less satisfactorily explains it of a 'coached' witness who knows his cue. The use of Greek words probably points to their being a quotation, or a recognised phrase.

² Marcus Brutus and Pompeius's elder son Gnaeus were sons-in-law of Appius.

³ This is very Ciceronian. In Letter xxxii. we hear that Appius's 'mode of administering' a province was 'not like a human being, but some unheard-of wild beast !' Yet some of his biographers would accept either or even both of the statements without further inquiry.

from him arose from a spirit of opposition, and not a mere difference of opinion, whereas I have never done nor have I said a single thing with a wish to prejudice his reputation. After this affair however, and the rash action of our good friend Dolabella, I offer myself as his advocate to stave off the threatened danger.

3 That same letter of yours talked of the lethargy of the country. Of course I was pleased at this, and smiled to think that our friend had come to freezing-point of tranquillity. The little paragraph at the end in your own hand was indeed a stab. What? Curio now become a supporter of Caesar? Who could ever have expected this but myself? for, upon my life, I really did expect it. Good heavens! how I miss our laughing together over it. My intention is, now I have finished my circuit, improved the finances of the towns, secured the tax-renters even their arrears from the previous contract without a single murmur from the allies, and given general satisfaction to individuals high and low, to start for Cilicia on the 7th of May, and after I have just been to the summer quarters and put army matters in order, to avail myself of the decree of the Senate for returning home. I very much want to see you as an aedile: indeed I am filled with indescribable longing at the thought of Rome and all my friends, and of none more than yourself.

XXXVIII. (AD. ATT. VI. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT LAODICEA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in May, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

1 Your freedman Philogenes having made his way to Laodicea to call on me, and having mentioned that he was just about to sail on his return to you, I send this letter by him in answer to the one I received from Brutus's courier. And I will answer your last page first, which gave me much annoyance, that Cincius should have written so to you about his conversation with Statius; and the most annoying part of it all is that Statius should say I agreed in approving the course

proposed.¹ Approve indeed! but no more of this. I need only say that my wish is to see the ties of relationship with you as numerous as possible, though those of affection which we already have could not be closer than they are; so utterly do I repudiate the idea of wishing to undo in the smallest degree anything that now holds us together. I have often ² however found from experience that he is just the man who would express himself too bitterly about such disputes; often indeed I have had to pacify his rage: this I suppose you know: why, in this very excursion—not to call it a campaign—I have frequently seen him furious with passion, and no less frequently mollified again. What he may have written to Statius, I cannot tell: whatever he intended to do in a matter of this kind, he had no business in any case to write to a freedman about it.² Now it shall be my earnest endeavour to prevent any step being taken that our wishes or his duty would forbid. Nor is it enough in a thing of this kind for each to go bail for his own part only. In fact the principal share in this work belongs to the boy (I ought perhaps now to call him a young man) Quintus Cicero, and indeed I am always impressing this upon him. And it appears to me that he loves his mother, as he ought to do, very strongly, and yourself to an amazing extent. But the lad's disposition is a generous one enough, only it is a strange mixture, and I have enough to do to keep him straight.

Now as my first page has answered your last, it is time ³ to turn back to your first. That the cities of Peloponnesus are all on the sea-coast I took on trust from the maps of Dicaearchus,³ no worthless authority, but one whom even your judgment approves. When he is making Chaeron describe the cave of Trophonius he finds this fault with the Greeks on various grounds—that they had kept so much to the sea-coast, and makes not a single exception in Pelo-

¹ This refers to Quintus Cicero's intention of divorcing Pomponia. See Letter xxxi. note 4. The divorce did not take place till five years after this.

² See Introd. to Letter xi.

³ Dicaearchus—the Peripatetic philosopher of Letter x. § 3—published a series of maps of the whole known world with descriptive accounts. In one of them Chaeron, an interlocutor, apparently describes the celebrated cave and oracle of Trophonius, near Lebadeia in Boeotia.

ponnesus. While I could not but accept his authority—for he was *historien*, *s'il en fut*, and had lived in Peloponnesus—I was certainly startled, and only half believing it I consulted Dionysius. He too was at first taken aback, but afterwards, having as good an opinion of your friend Dicaearchus as you can have of Gaius Vestorius, or I of Marcus Cluvius,⁴ thought we might without hesitation accept his statements. Lepreon, which is a place on the coast, he fancied might belong to Arcadia, while Tenea, Aliphera, and Tritia seemed *ne dater que d'hier*, in proof of which he appealed to Book II of the Iliad, where there is no mention of those places. Accordingly I transferred the passage in question bodily from Dicaearchus. As to the 'Phliasii,' I know already that that is what they are called; so will you see that your copy has it; mine indeed is already so. But it was the *esprit de système* in the first instance that led me astray: Phlius is like Opus, Sipus; which make Opuntii, Sipuntii. But this I have at once corrected.

- 4** I see you are pleased at my moderation and forbearance; how much more then would you be if you were here! And during this session, which I have been holding at Laodicea from the 13th of February till the 1st of May, for all the departments except Cilicia Proper, I have done some wonderful work, seeing the number of cities that have been entirely freed from debt, and many more that have been greatly relieved. All have revived at once on recovering their *affranchissement*, with the use of their own laws and courts. There were two kinds of opportunities I gave them for diminishing or getting rid of their debts. The first was, that under my government they had no expense at all, and when I say none, I am speaking absolutely *à la lettre*: no expense whatever, I repeat, not a single farthing. Now it is scarcely credible how largely even by this alone the different cities **5** have been enabled to get their heads above water. But there is another reason too. The peculations of the Greeks themselves, committed, that is, by their own magistrates, were

⁴ Vestorius and Cluvius were both bankers of Puteoli, the old name of which was Dicaearchia. Cicero means therefore, 'I thought Dicaearchus was as much to be trusted in geography as the most respectable of Dicaearchians in money.'

enormous. I myself examined those who for the last ten years had held office: they made no secret of it. Consequently, without being publicly disgraced at all, they have taken the load on their own shoulders, and repaid the money themselves to the communities;⁵ the communities in their turn, without a word of complaint, have handed over to the tax-gatherers (to whom they had paid nothing since the last census) even the arrears of the previous period, and consequently among tax-gatherers now I am as the apple of their eye. A grateful lot they are! say you. Yes, we know them of old. Well, they have found my administration in other respects too, without being incompetent, mild and courteous beyond all precedent: access to me has been given not at all in the style of our foreign governments: no applying to a chamberlain; I have always been about the house before daybreak, just as in the old days when I was a candidate. All this is popular and thought a great deal of, and has not as yet proved irksome, thanks to my being an old campaigner.

On the 7th of May I shall go I think to Cilicia, and after spending June there (Heaven send it may be without an outbreak! but we are threatened with a great war by the Parthians) give up July to the journey back, for my year of work expires on the 30th of July, and I am in great hopes that I shall not have my time extended at all. I have the Gazettes up to the 7th of March, by which I find that, thanks to the firm attitude⁶ of our friend Curio, the last thing in the world likely to be discussed is the provinces; therefore I shall see you, I hope, before long.

I come now to your—nay, since you prefer it, I will say ⁷ our—friend Brutus.⁷ For my own part I have done everything that it was possible to effect in my province, or even to attempt in the king's country. Accordingly I have been pressing his majesty in every way, and continue to do so

⁵ *Suis umeris* certainly does not mean 'of their own accord' (Boot), a rendering for which there is no authority, but 'out of their own resources,' 'without borrowing.' This is the meaning also in the passages (*Pro Flacco*, 37. 94; *Pro Milone*, 9, 25) which Boot quotes as parallels for his view.

⁶ Compare Letter xxxv. § 5.

⁷ Letter xxxvi. §§ 10-13, where *cum anatocismo anniversario* seems = *renovatis quotannis* here.

daily; by letter, of course, for I only had him here for three or four days during a disturbance which I helped him out of. But I have never ceased, either in person while he was here, or in perpetual letters afterwards, to ask him to grant this as a favour to me, and to urge it as being advisable for himself. I have done a good deal, but how much I do not exactly know, being at such a long distance. As to the people of Salamis, being able to use force with them, I have brought them to express their willingness to pay the whole debt to Scaptius, provided only that the 12 per cent were reckoned from the last contract, and not at compound interest, but to be calculated from the beginning of every year. There was the money ready to be counted out: Scaptius would have nothing to do with it. My good friend, how can you tell me that Brutus really wants to put up with *some* deduction? Why his bond was for 48 per cent. That was totally impossible, and if it were possible I could not allow it. They tell me that Scaptius is decidedly repenting, for as to his argument that a decree of the Senate gives him the right to recover under his bond, the reason why that was passed was that the people of Salamis had borrowed money in violation of Aulus Gabinius's act, which is an act to forbid the legal right to recover money so borrowed; therefore the Senate passed a resolution that that particular bond should be held good in law for recovery. As things are then, the bond possesses exactly the same validity as every other one, nothing whatever that is exceptional. I think I shall get Brutus to admit that I have only acted with propriety in all this; but about you I am not sure: Cato undoubtedly will. But now I appeal again to yourself. Seriously, Atticus, can you, who have always praised my integrity and fine sense of right, 'dare with those very lips,' as Ennius has it, to urge me to give Scaptius a troop of horse to exact the money? Nay, if you, who tell me you are often tormented at not being with me, were here now, would you allow me to do this, if I wanted it? Not more than fifty, indeed! why Spartacus at first had not so many as that. How much harm, think you, would those scoundrels not have done in so helpless an island:—would have done? what did they not actually do before I came

here? They kept the councillors of Salamis shut up in their town-hall so many days that some actually died of starvation; for Scaptius had a command given him by Appius, and Appius himself furnished him with some troops. Is this then what you would ask me; you, whose face I declare always rises before my eyes whenever I think about honour or any claim of duty—can it be you, I say, asking me to appoint Scaptius to a command? I had already formed a resolution independently not to appoint any money-lender, and Brutus had approved of it. He to have a troop of horse? why more than foot? Scaptius seems to be turning out quite a spendthrift! The ⁹ principal people of Salamis wish it, no doubt. Oh, I know all about that: why, they came as far as Ephesus to meet me, and with tears in their eyes reported the iniquities of the cavalry, and their own misery: and in consequence of this I at once issued a despatch ordering that all cavalry should leave Cyprus before a certain date, for which, among many other reasons, the people of Salamis have passed resolutions lauding me to the skies. But what need can there be now of cavalry, when the people of Salamis are all for paying? Unless indeed this is what we want to use our swords to enforce—that they should pay interest at four times the ¹² per cent. And then, think you I shall ever again venture to read or to lay a finger on those books which you are everywhere praising, if I shall have been guilty of such an act?⁸ Nay, my dearest Atticus, let me tell you you have shown too much affection for Brutus in your pleading, and, I fear, too little for me. I may add that I have written to Brutus to say that you have been writing to me to this effect.

Now for what else there is to be said. I am doing all I ¹⁰ can here for Appius,⁹ though only as far as honour will allow, but still unquestionably with good-will; for indeed I do not dislike him, and am really attached to Brutus; while Pompeius, my regard for whom increases with every day of my life, is pressing his case upon me with amazing anxiety. You have heard that Gaius Caecilius is coming here as our quaestor. I

⁸ Probably Cicero's treatise on Government (*De re publica*).

⁹ Compare Letters xxxv. § 1; xxxvii. § 2. What Appius wanted Cicero to do was no doubt to suppress or cajole inconvenient witnesses.

do not understand what it all means, but I do not like that business about Pammenes. For myself I hope to be at Athens in September. Of course I should like to know the times of your movements. About Sempronius Rufus's *naïveté* you told me in your letter from Corcyra. Well, I can only say I envy Vestorius his power.¹⁰ I should like still to go on chattering, but it is now broad daylight ; the crowd is beginning to press ; Philogenes is in haste to be off. So I will only add my good wishes : give them from me to Pilia and my little Caecilia when you write, and accept kind remembrances from my son Marcus.

XXXIX. (AD FAM. XV. 5.)

FROM MARCUS CATO AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

June (?), 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

After their great defeat of Crassus (Letter xxxi. Introd. and § 3) the Parthians maintained a threatening attitude, and it was feared they would invade Cilicia ; but they were repulsed by Gaius Cassius, who had been quaestor to Crassus, at Antioch, and the ex-consul Bibulus arrived in Syria with reinforcements. Cicero then employed the forces he possessed as a defence against the Parthians in attacking the savage hordes of Mount Amanus, which he did with great success, his brother Quintus, who was an able and experienced officer, being on his staff. This inspired him with hopes that the Senate would recognise the exploit by a public thanksgiving in his honour, and a triumph on his return. But fearing the opposition of Cato, he wrote him a long letter (Ad Fam. xv. 4) to ask for his support, to which the present one is an answer. Cato voted against the motion for a public thanksgiving, though he proposed a complimentary vote, but signed the decree when it was passed. Cicero here thanks Cato for his complimentary expressions, but calls him 'discreditably spiteful' in a letter to Atticus (Ad Att. vii. 2, 7), and indeed we can scarcely be surprised if Cato's arguments did not convince him.

Long, iv. ch. 24, 25 ; Forsyth, 322-324 ; Abeken, 228-235.

1 It is with sincere pleasure, as patriotism and friendship would alike dictate, that I see the spirit, integrity, and vigilance which we knew so well in the great crisis of your

¹⁰ Compare Letter xxxiv. § 1. The allusion is somewhat obscure, but it seems that Rufus did not call on Cicero when he passed through Puteoli, and Cicero sarcastically attributes this to his being afraid of meeting the banker Vestorius (*supra*, § 3) in the streets. We have no means of explaining fully the allusion to Pammenes ; but from Ad Att. v. 20, 10, it appears to refer to some purchase of a house.

civil administration at home, now addressing themselves in unimpaired vigour to the conduct of our arms abroad. I have therefore only acted in accordance with my convictions in endeavouring to pay due honour, both in my speeches and in the vote I proposed, to the integrity and judgment with which you have protected a province, saved the person and crown of King Ariobarzanes, and brought back the feeling of our allies to a loyal enthusiasm for our rule. If you prefer that we ² should give thanks to the Almighty rather than acknowledge our gratitude to yourself for a success in which the State is in nowise indebted to chance, but to your consummate ability and self-control, I am glad that a public thanksgiving has been voted. But if you regard a thanksgiving as merely the preliminary part of a triumph, and are glad for that reason that Fortune rather than yourself should have the credit, in the first place a triumph does not necessarily follow on a public thanksgiving, and then it is far more honourable that the Senate should record its opinion that the mild rule and integrity of a governor has saved his province and its allegiance than the amount of his forces or the favour of Providence, and this was the sentiment I wished to express. And, contrary to my usual ³ practice, I have written to you somewhat at length for this reason, that you might see (as I earnestly hope you will) how eager I am to convince you that while I supported the course which appeared to me most becoming for your dignity, I yet am glad we adopted the one you yourself prefer. I hope you may live long to grant me your friendship, and to continue in the path you have chosen of strict watchfulness for the interests of our allies and the Republic.

XL. (AD FAM. XV. 6.)

FROM CICERO IN CILICIA TO MARCUS CATO AT ROME.

(Answer to the preceding Letter.)

August or September, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

‘ Father, from thee applause is praise indeed,
From one so praised this comes a nobler meed.’¹

- 1** So says Hector in one, I think, of Naevius’s plays ; for it is undoubtedly true that applause is sweet when it proceeds from those whose own lives have been most applauded. Indeed, as for myself, whether I look at the congratulations of your letter, or the testimony of the opinion you expressed in the Senate, I seem to have reached the very summit of my wishes, and it is to me at once the greatest pleasure and the greatest honour that you have been ready to make a concession to friendship which you could certainly grant with a very clear conscience to truth. And if we all, or even if many of us were Catos in this country, whose proudest boast is that she has given birth to one, what laurels, what triumphal cars, could I weigh for a moment against your approbation ? To my own feelings, as well as to your own most upright and refined judgment, nothing could be more honourable to me than that speech of yours, which I have had fully reported to me by my friends.
- 2** But the reasons that made me so desirous (I will not say ambitious) I explained to you in my previous letter, and although they have seemed to you to be scarcely sufficient, there is at least this much to be said for them—that if the privilege is not one to be too eagerly desired, at all events, if the Senate should offer it me, it is one on no account to be rejected. Now I hope that that body, in consideration of the work I have done for my country, will think me not unworthy of the privilege, especially as it is by no means an unusual one. Should this prove to be the case, I would only beg of you, in

¹ Compare ‘ Commendation from Sir Hubert Stanley is praise indeed.’—Thomas Morton, ‘A Cure for the Heart-ache.’ The quotation from Naevius is out of the *Hector Proficiscens*.

accordance with the very friendly expressions of your letter, that as you were willing to grant me what in your judgment would be most to my honour, you will rejoice with me if that happens which would give me most pleasure. Indeed, I know you have so expressed yourself in acts and feelings, as well as in your kind letter; and I find a proof that the thanksgiving in my honour was not indifferent to you in the fact that you added your signature to the decree; for I am well aware that decrees of this kind are usually signed by those who feel the warmest interest in the person in whose honour they are passed. I shall, I hope, see you very shortly, and heaven grant that our country may then be in a happier state than my fears forebode!

XLI.¹ (AD FAM. VIII. 14.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO IN CILICIA.

September (?), 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

The capture of his Parthian majesty² and the storming of Seleuceia itself had not been enough to compensate for missing the sight of our doings here. Your eyes would never have ached again if you had only seen the face of Domitius when he was not elected! The election was important, and it was quite clear that party feeling determined the side which people took: only a very few could be brought to acknowledge the claims of friendship. Consequently Domitius is so furious with me that he scarcely hates any of his most intimate friends as much as he does me; and all the more because he thinks that it was by unfair means that his hopes of being in the College of Augurs are snatched away, and that I am responsible for it. He is savage now to see everybody so delighted at his mortification, and myself more active than anybody, with one

¹ It would seem that this letter should be placed before Letter xxxix., because the Parthian war is spoken of as still continuing, and because Antonius was elected Augur early in the year (Bell. Gall. viii. 50). But as Ad Fam. viii. 12 cannot have been written before September, and yet seems to precede this one, Mr. Watson thinks the war had merely been suspended, and dates this late in September.

² Arsaces is a title of the Arsacidae; the king's name was Orodes.

exception,³ on behalf of Antonius; for even his son Gnaeus has now begun an action against young Gnaeus Saturninus, who is in terribly bad odour from his antecedents. That trial we are now looking forward to, and even with some confidence, after the acquittal of Sextus Peducaeus.

2 As to political prospects, I have often mentioned to you that I do not see any chance of peace lasting a year; and the nearer that struggle, which must infallibly take place, is drawing to us, the more manifest does its danger become. The point at issue about which our lords and masters are going to fight is this: Pompeius has absolutely determined not to allow Caesar to be elected consul on any terms except a previous resignation of his army and his government, while Caesar is convinced that he must inevitably fall if he separates himself from his army. He offers however this compromise, that they should both of them resign their armies. So you see their great affection for one another and their much-abused alliance has not even dwindled down into suppressed jealousy, but has broken out into open war. Nor can I discover what is the wisest course to take in my own interests: a question which I make no doubt will give much trouble to you also. For while I have both interest and connexions among those who are on one side, on the other too it is the cause and not the men **3** themselves I dislike. You are not, I feel sure, blind to the fact that where parties are divided within a country we are bound so long as the struggle is carried on with none but constitutional weapons to support the more honourable cause, but when we come to blows and to open war, then the safer one; and to count that cause the better which is the less likely to be dangerous. In the present division of feeling I see that Pompeius will have the Senate and the men who decide the cases⁴

³ Probably Curio (Watson), or Saturninus (Wesenberg); but *modo* is only a conjecture of Baiter's for the MS. *move*.

⁴ The rendering 'judicially-minded people,' which I formerly adopted, gives a good antithesis to *qui cum timore aut malu spe vivant*, but seems to need a qualifying adverb. The words are certainly used as a mere periphrasis for *iudices*; see especially Muren. § 24, *senatus et populi et eorum qui res iudicant*. Moreover the favour of judges would be much more valued by Caelius than their impartiality, and would give a reason for Caesar's refusal to fight out the issue in the law courts. I have therefore reconsidered my rendering.

on his side ; those who have everything to dread and little to hope for will flock to Caesar ; the army is not to be compared.⁵ On the whole, we have plenty of time for balancing the strength of parties and making our decision.

I had all but forgotten my principal reason for writing. ⁴ Have you heard of the wonderful doings of our censor Appius —how he is rigorously inquiring into our statues and pictures, our amount of land, and our debts ? He has persuaded himself that his censorship is a moral soap or toilet-powder. He is wrong, I take it, for while he only wants to wash off the dirt, he is really laying bare his veins and his flesh. Heaven and earth ! you must run, and come to laugh at the things here—Appius questioning about pictures and statues ; Drusus sitting to administer Scantinius's Act !⁶ You must make haste, I assure you.

Our friend Curio is thought to have acted wisely in giving way about the pay of Pompeius's troops. If I must sum up my opinion, as you ask, about what will happen ; unless one or other of them consents to go and fight the Parthians, I see a great split impending, which will be settled by the sword and by force : each is well inclined for this and well equipped. If it could only be without danger to yourself, you would find this a great and most attractive drama which Fortune is rehearsing.

⁵ It is difficult to see the intention of this remark. Mr. Watson says 'Caesar's being much the best,' as of course it was proved by the event. But if so, the forecast is remarkable at this time from a young senatorial partisan. As a matter of fact the armies now seemed very evenly balanced ; the optimates were insanely confident ; and Pompeius boasted that he had only to stamp his foot to cover the soil of Italy with armed men. See on the disposition of both forces Mommsen iv. 348-351 ; Watson, Appendix vii. Compare also Ad Att. vii. 8 : *(Pompeius) vehementer hominem (Caesarem) contemnebat, et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat.* It is possible, however, that this braggadocio covered some uneasiness in the acuter observers (Caelius went over to Caesar a few weeks later, Att. vii. 3. 6), and Caesar's late victories in Gaul, especially over Vercingetorix, had proved his strength. Still one may wonder in which way Cicero interpreted the oracle.

⁶ 'It was directed *in eos qui nefanda Venere uterentur*, and is mentioned by Juvenal (Sat. ii. 44), and, according to one reading, by Cicero (Phil. iii. 6, 16).—Watson.

XLII. (AD ATT. VI. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT SIDE IN PAMPHYLIA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in August, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

Cicero's year of office expired on the 30th of July, and on the 3d of August, leaving his quaestor Caelius in charge, he sailed from Side, the principal port of Pamphylia, to Rhodes, and thence to Ephesus, Athens (from which place Letter xlii. is dated), and Brundisium, where he was met by Terentia. From Brundisium he went to stay a few days with Pontius Aquila at Trebula, where he wrote Letter xliv., and then to his own villa at Formiae. Cicero never re-entered Rome until the end of the year 47 B.C.; because entering the gates implied the laying down of a military command, and thereby renouncing the claim to a triumph. This the Senate would probably have granted him at any other time, but in that terrible crisis, on the very verge of the greatest of civil wars, no one else had a thought to spare for such trifles.

In Letter xxxv. § 2 Caelius suggested Dolabella as a husband for Tullia, and Terentia hurried on the match without waiting for the consent of Cicero, who was inclined to favour Tiberius Nero, the father of the emperor. Dolabella was now prosecuting Appius on the usual charges of peculation and mis-government, and Cicero was using his position to suppress the evidence.

Merivale, ii. 118-120; Forsyth, 345-352; Abeken, 268-281.

- 1 Here I am in my province doing all I can to support the credit of Appius, when, lo! I find myself all at once his accuser's father-in-law. 'Yes, and may Heaven make it,' say you, 'a happy match!' Amen, say I, as I am quite sure you really wish it to be, but upon my word there is nothing in the world I had less expected to hear of; I had even gone so far as to send some confidential messengers to my womankind about Tiberius Nero,¹ who had made proposals to me; but when they got to Rome the betrothal was all over. After all I hope this is better: at any rate, I can see that the ladies are immensely delighted with the young fellow's deference and agreeable manners; as for other things, don't try to have him *épluché*.
- 2 But hey! my good friend, what is this about you and a *distribution de blé* at Athens? Is that approved? Still no

¹ Mr. Forsyth (p. 331) makes the truly remarkable comment that if Tullia had accepted this proposal 'the world might possibly have been spared one monster,' meaning apparently the emperor!

doubt there was nothing to prevent it in my treatise,² for yours was not so much a largess to fellow-citizens, as a tribute to the hospitality of entertainers. Do you still tell me to think about adding 'Propylaea' to the Academy, when Appius has given up his idea about Eleusis? I am sure you are very sorry about Hortensius. I for my part suffer much; I had set my heart on living in pleasant intimacy with him. I have left ³Caelius in charge of the province. 'He is a mere boy,' you will say, 'and possibly a fool, and wanting in character and self-restraint.' Granted: there was nothing else to be done. For it was the letter I had from you a long time ago, when you said you were quite '*balancé*' as to what I ought to do about leaving the province, which pricked me: because I saw the reason of this '*balance*'; indeed I felt just the same myself. Why give it to a mere boy? there was my brother? That was an undesirable thing for both of us, while³ there was nobody except my brother whom I could without invidiousness put over the head of my quaestor, especially as he was of noble family. Still while the Parthians seemed threatening I had determined to leave my brother, or even for the public good to stay myself, in spite of the decree of the Senate: now that by some marvellous good luck they have retired, my hesitation has been removed. I saw what would be the comments: So! he has put his brother in; do you call this holding a province only for a year? what good is it that the Senate intended the provinces to go to those who had not previously held any government? why, here is a man has been three consecutive years! These are my reasons therefore for the public ear. And now for those which are for yours only? Well, I should never have been free from the dread—such ⁴things will occur in life—of something passionate or insolent or negligent happening. What if my nephew too did something, being only a lad, and a headstrong lad too?—what trouble this would be. His father however was not at all for sending

² The Treatise on Government (*De re publica*), which had been lately published. Compare Letter xxxviii. § 9. The phrase, 'distribution de blé,' occurs in Montesquieu.

³ *Nam* refers to a suppressed clause, such as 'and I could not give it to anybody else.'

him away, and was much annoyed that you thought he ought to. Whereas now with Caelius—I am not saying, you understand, that I do [not] mind about his past, but at any rate I am far less anxious. Then you may add another reason : Pompeius, strong man as he was, and deep as his roots were set, appointed Quintus Cassius without any election, and Caesar did the same for Antonius : was I to offend a man who had been regularly elected, and be sure to make him a spy on the conduct of anybody whom I left in charge ? My way was better than that, and there are more precedents for this course, which certainly is better suited for my time of life. But, bless me ! you do not know how I have ingratiated you with him : I read him a letter which if it did not come from you, at any rate did from your secretary.⁴ The letters I have from friends all invite me to claim a triumph, which I am inclined to think is a thing that -ought not to be neglected in the present *renaissance* of my fortunes ; so, my dear Atticus, please begin to be eager for it too, that you may keep me in countenance, if it is thought foolish of me.

XLIII. (AD FAM. XIV. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ATHENS TO HIS WIFE TERENTIA AT ROME.

October 18, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

I With our dear boy Marcus and myself all is well, if it is well with you and my darling Tullia too. We got to Athens only on the 14th of this month, having had bad winds and a tedious and disagreeable voyage indeed. As we stepped out from the ship Acastus was there to meet us with the letters, though he had only just three weeks to do it in, which is

⁴ Cicero's lax morality about letters (compare Letter xxxi. note 6) seems here to have extended to reading to Caelius an imaginary letter from Atticus, whose secretary was with Cicero, and probably had the seal. The seal was the only guarantee, though a most inadequate one (see Letter xvi. note 7), of genuineness. As Dean Merivale remarks (note to Abeken, 322), 'It is a curious trait of the morality of the times, not so much as regards the act itself, which may perhaps admit of some excuse, as from the evident unconsciousness of the writer that it requires any.' See Letter lxxxi. § 2.

certainly energetic travelling. I received your letter and found from it that you were afraid the previous ones might not have reached me. Yes, all were safely delivered, and you have taken a great deal of trouble to give me a full account of everything, and I am greatly obliged for it. I am not surprised too that this letter which Acastus has brought is short, for you are now expecting to see me, or rather both of us, in person, and we, you may be sure, are longing to get home as soon as possible, though I see what a country it must be to come home to ; for I learn from the letters which Acastus has brought me from many kind friends that things are looking in the direction of war, so that when once there I shall not be allowed to conceal my sentiments. But since we must take what fortune sends, I will exert myself all the more to come speedily, that I may have more opportunity for reconsidering my general position. I hope you will come on the road to meet me as far as you possibly can without injuring your health.

As to the legacy of Precius,¹ I am very sorry indeed to ² receive it, for I loved him much. I should however wish you to see to this : if the sale is to come off before my arrival, let Atticus, or, if he is not well able, let Camillus undertake my part. When I have got safe home I mean to do all the rest myself : but even if you have already left Rome, be sure that this is done all the same. I hope, with God's blessing, to be in Italy about the middle of November. And now, my dearest, my much-longed-for Terentia, if you love me be sure you both of you take care of your health. [Farewell.]

Athens, Oct. 18.

¹ One Lucius Precius is mentioned by Cicero (*Verr.* v. 62) as a Roman of good position at Panormus, and the legacy may have come from him. Or it may be 'of Precianus' (a friend of Cicero, mentioned *Ad Fam.* vii. 8, 2), in which case the adjective would have the same form as the substantive. This form shows that his original name was Precius, and that he had been adopted into another family, just as Octavius became Octavianus when adopted by Caesar.

XLIV. (AD ATT. VII. 7.)

FROM CICERO ON A VISIT TO LUCIUS PONTIUS AQUILA, AT TREBULA,¹ TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

December, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

1 'Dionysius, who, as I too have found, is a most excellent person, and besides being very learned is quite devoted to you, arrived in Rome on the 16th of December, and gave me a letter from you.' This is every word you have to say about Dionysius in your letter. You do not add, mind,² 'and he expressed his gratitude to you ;' though he was certainly bound to do so, and if he had done, you with your usual kindness would have been sure to add this. However, it is not left open for me now *chanter la palinodie* about him, after what I said in my former letter. Let us say therefore that he is undoubtedly a good man, since even on the present occasion he deserves some credit for giving me such an excellent opportunity of seeing through him.

2 Philogenes has given you a correct account : he has not neglected his duty at all. I wanted him to make use of the money as long as we could allow him, and consequently he has done so for the last thirteen months.

3 I am anxious to hear that Pomptinus³ is doing well, and afraid of what his entering the city, which you say he has done, may mean ; for he would not have taken this step without some important reason. For myself, as the 2nd of January is Cross-Roads day,⁴ I do not care to go and stay at the villa

¹ Now Treglia, about eight miles from Capua. An estate at Trebula would be called Trebulanum. This Mr. Forsyth (p. 348) turns into Tribulanum, giving it apparently as the name of the town.

² Boot suggests *optatum* for the strange word *putato* := 'what I wanted to hear.'

³ One of Cicero's officers, mentioned Letter xxxi. § 4. His entering Rome implied that he had given up all hopes of attending Cicero's entry in triumph.

⁴ The Compitalia, or Cross-Roads day, a feast in honour of the household gods, was, like the Saturnalia, a special holiday for the slaves. Cicero had been invited to stay with Pompeius at Albanum, the later town which succeeded the ancient Alba, though perhaps it had not yet the later name.

at Alba just on that day, lest my arrival should put the household to inconvenience: I shall make it the 3rd therefore, and thence to Rome on the 4th. I do not know on what day you look for your '*accès*' of the fever, but I should be very sorry for you to have to move, at the risk of your health.

As to the honours that are to be paid to me, unless it ⁴ should prove that Caesar has been secretly working against me by means of his creatures among the tribunes, there seems to be a general acquiescence, and my own feelings are most inclined of all to acquiesce, which say that whatever happens about this will do well enough, and all the more because I hear from many quarters that Pompeius and his council have determined to send me out to Sicily as having still full powers. Oh, these wise men of Abdera! ⁵ as you Greeks say. The Senate has passed no decree, the people have voted for no law that I should be intrusted with the government of Sicily. If on the other hand the State makes over the selection entirely to Pompeius, why must he send me more than any private individual? So if my military rank is going to give me any trouble, the first gate I come to shall serve me to get rid of it. ⁶ For when you say that there is amazing anxiety to ⁵ know what I shall do, and yet that not a single individual among the good citizens, or even the moderately good ones, has any doubt on the point, I do not see what sort of people you would call good citizens;—I for my part know of none,—of course I only mean if we are looking for classes of none but good citizens. Individuals no doubt here and there are sound, but in times of civil discord it is soundness in whole classes and different ranks of life we have to look for. The Senate? How can you call it sound, when it is entirely in fault if the provinces have no proper government at all? For Curio would never have persisted in his opposition if any attempt had been made to discuss it with him properly; but the Senate refused to adopt the proposal, and the consequence is that no successor

⁵ The people of Abdera, though it was the birthplace of three celebrated philosophers, Democritus, Protagoras, and Anaxarchus, were generally spoken of by the Greeks like our wise men of Gotham (Martial, x. 25; Juvenal, x. 50, etc.) Malines has a similar unenviable reputation among Belgians, probably equally undeserved.

⁶ See Introd. to Letter xlii.

to Caesar was appointed at all. Or the tax-contractors? They never were staunch, but now they are Caesar's most devoted friends. Or the big financiers? or the farmers, who are for peace at any price? But perhaps you fancy that they have a horror of finding themselves under a monarchy; whereas they never formerly kicked against it, provided one would leave them in peace. What then? Ought we to allow a man who still retains his army after his legal term has expired to stand for office? To me, on the contrary, it seems that even his absence is conclusive. But grant one and you grant the other too. Do I approve of the ten-year term of military authority, carried too in the way that it was? If so, I must equally approve of my own banishment; of the loss of our Campanian territory; the adoption of a patrician by a plebeian, and a native of Gades by one of Mytilene;⁷ I must approve of the gains of Labienus and Mamurra; the park of Balbus, and his villa at Tusculum.⁸ But all these things spring from one source. It was our place to resist him while he was weak, and that was easy enough; now it is a case of eleven legions; cavalry as much as ever he likes; all the people beyond the Po; the masses of the capital; numbers of the tribunes; such a reckless body of our younger men; and a general of his immense authority, immense audacity. This is the man now with whom we have to reckon by the sword, or legally ratify his pretensions. 'Fight to the last,' you say, 'rather than be a slave.' And for what? To be proscribed if you fail: to be a slave none the less if you succeed. What then would I propose to do? Just what sheep do: when scattered

⁷ Compare Introd. to Letter x. for the Campanian land-division, and to Letter ix. for the adoption of Clodius by Fonteius. The native of Gades (Cadiz) is Lucius Cornelius Balbus the elder, who was adopted by Theophanes of Mytilene, the confidential servant of Pompeius; but why their birthplace is mentioned is not clear. Mr. Watson thinks it was to mark the degradation of the Roman franchise. The whole passage means that the acts of the triumvirs must stand or fall together.

⁸ Mamurra, Caesar's commandant of engineers, and Labienus, his second in command (Letter xlvi.), amassed great wealth. Compare Catullus, xxix. : *Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia Habebat ante et ultima Brtannia.* Labienus rebuilt Cingulum at his own expense, Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 15. The gardens of Balbus, Caesar's treasurer, were a gift from Pompeius, Ad Att. ix. 13, 8; his villa at Tusculum is described in Cicero's speech, Pro Balbo, 25, 56.

they will go with any flock of their own species. Like an ox following a herd I mean to follow the good citizens, or any who will claim to be the good ones, even if they only mean to rush blindly on. I see plain enough what is the best course in our sad straits: for nobody can say for certain what will happen when we have got to blows, while everybody can tell this much, that if the good cause is defeated he will exact the blood of our leading men as cruelly as Cinna, and the treasures of the wealthy as avariciously as Sulla.⁹ Here I am all this time *politiquant* with you, and I would do so even longer, if my lamp were not failing me. This is my conclusion: 'Marcus Tullius is in possession of the House.' Then Marcus Tullius begs to support his honourable friend, Gnaeus Pompeius, or, what is the same thing, Titus Pomponius Atticus.

Please give my remembrances to Alexis, a very gentlemanly boy—unless indeed during my absence he has grown up into a young man, for he seemed to be doing that.

XLV. (AD ATT. VII. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

End of December, 704 A.V.C. (50 B.C.)

'Eh, what?' you exclaim, 'am I to have a letter from you every day?' Every day if I can find a messenger to send it by. 'Why, you are all but here yourself!' Very well, as soon as I am come, I will stop them. One of yours I see has never reached me, which my good friend Lucius Quinctius was bringing when he was assaulted and robbed near the tomb of Basilus. So see if there was anything in it which I ought to know, and at the same time here is a question for you à *trancher*; assuredly it is a problem in *la haute politique*. We will say that things must take one of these courses. (1) Caesar is allowed to stand for the consulship, and yet meanwhile, through the influence either of the Senate or the tribunes, to retain his army. (2) Caesar is induced to give up his province

⁹ Caesar's utter falsification of this prediction is well known. See especially Mommsen, iv. 378, and Cicero's striking admission Letter xci. § 8.

and army, and thereupon is elected consul. (3) We fail in persuading him to do this, and thereupon the elections are held without admitting his claim ; he meanwhile consenting to this, and so retaining his province. (4) The tribunes being employed to interfere, though he still remains passive, matters are brought to an interregnum.

Again, if he bring his army to bear upon us because we refuse to admit his claim, it may be that we must fight it out with him. In that case he may draw the sword either (1) at once, while we are hardly prepared for him, or (2) later on when his friends have proposed to the assembly his claim to stand as being legal, and it has been rejected. Then he may appeal to arms (1) merely on the single pretext of the refusal of his claims ; or (2) he may combine it with some other reason, if it should turn out that any tribune, for obstructing the proceedings of the Senate, or inciting the populace to riot, has been publicly censured, or had his powers limited, or been suspended, or deprived of his office (or, what is the same thing,¹ pretends to have been deprived) and takes refuge with him.

Lastly, war being once begun, we may have (1) to defend the capital ; or (2) to abandon it, and intercept his provisions and other supplies.

Now which of all these evils, one or other of which we must unquestionably undergo, are you inclined to think the least ? I have no doubt you will say that he should be persuaded to give up his army and be elected consul on that condition. That is exactly how it stands ; if he will only come down to this, nothing can possibly be said against it ; and I should not be surprised at his doing so, if he does not succeed in getting permission to stand and still to retain his army. Some people however think that for us there is nothing more to be dreaded than his being consul. ‘Well, I would rather have it so,’ you will say, ‘than with his army.’ Undoubtedly ; yet I can tell you there is one person² who considers even the

¹ Notice the weak alternative marked by *ve* after a succession of strong alternatives marked by *aut.*

² Probably Pompeius, whom, as Mr. Watson points out, Cicero had met at Formiae on Dec. 25 (Ad Att. vii. 8, 4).

former by itself a frightful evil, nor is there any cure for it. Give way, must we, if he is bent upon it? Fancy seeing him such a consul again as you saw him in his first consulship! And yet our friend admits that even then in his weaker days he was stronger than all the Republic together. What then do you expect now? And if he is to be consul, Pompeius is fully determined to stop in Spain. What a dreadful state of things, if what we cannot refuse him is the very thing most to be deprecated, and yet one his acceptance of which would instantly win him the highest regard of all good citizens! So ⁴ let us put this alternative out of the question, which they say he could never be brought to accept. Then which is the worst evil of the rest? To give way to him on what the same person characterises as his ‘most unblushing’ demand? What indeed could be more unblushing? You have held a province for ten years, a time which you got not by a grant of the Senate, but by your own factiousness and violence. Now that period—not one of law but only of your own self-willed choice, but still let us say the period of the law—has elapsed, and a vote is passed for your successor. Then you step in and say: ‘You must allow my claim.’ Do you rather make some allowance for us? Are you forsooth to keep your army longer than the nation has voted it to you against the will of the Senate? ‘You must fight to the bitter end unless you give way.’ At least then, the other retorts again, it will be with a bright hope, whether it be of conquering or only of dying while liberty still survives. To conclude, if we must fight, the time depends on the chapter of accidents, and the policy to be adopted upon the circumstances of the time, so that I do not propose to put you through your examination on that question. Send me an answer to these I have named if you see one; as for me, I am on the rack night and day.



PART III.

THE CIVIL WAR.



PART III.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR (JAN. 1, 49 B.C.)
TO THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS (AUG. 9, 48 B.C.)

XLVI. (AD ATT. VII. 10.)

FROM CICERO IN THE SUBURBS OF ROME TO ATTICUS IN
THE CITY.

About Jan. 17, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

On the first day of the year 49 Curio appeared in the Senate with Caesar's ultimatum, by which he offered, until he was elected consul, to retain nothing more than Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria with a force of merely two legions. This proposal is apparently of such dangerous moderation that Dean Merivale thinks he must have calculated on the blind passion of his enemies closing their ears to any offer of compromise whatever. At any rate the proposals were rejected, and Caesar was ordered to resign his provinces by the 1st of July ; and when the tribunes Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius interposed their veto it was disallowed ; whereupon they fled with Curio to the camp. Caesar then addressed his soldiers amid great enthusiasm, and marched from Ravenna. The outbreak of the war is popularly marked by the crossing of the tiny river Rubicon, the northern boundary of Italy, in the middle of January (*i.e.* by the true time about the end of November), but the occupation of Ariminum (Rimini) next morning was its explicit declaration. When the news reached Rome the consuls, Gaius Marcellus and Lucius Lentulus, and the majority of the senatorial party fled in a panic, without even securing the treasury, a fact which strikingly shows their unprepared condition ; and they were followed after a little hesitation by Cicero, who had not entered the city, lest he should lose his military rights, and the coveted triumph for his successes in Cilicia (Letter xlvi. Introd.) This hasty note was probably written just before starting.

Mommsen, iv. 356-373 ; Merivale, ii. 120-139 ; Forsyth, 351-356 ; Long, v. ch. i. ; Abeken, 280-284 ; Froude, Caesar, ch. xx. and xxi.

I have suddenly come to the resolution of setting out before daylight, to avoid exciting any attention or gossip,

particularly as my attendants still have the laurels on their wands. As for anything beyond that, upon my honour I have no idea either of what I am doing or what I am to do; I am so stunned by the rashness and utterly frantic nature of our decision. But how am I to give advice to you whose decision I myself am waiting for? As to our chief, what designs he has or had I know not, he being at present somewhere among the country towns, cooped up and quite bewildered. All of us, supposing he decides to make a stand in Italy, will be together; but if he means to leave it, we must in that case consider further. Certainly hitherto (unless it is I who am out of my senses) everything has gone blunderingly and heedlessly. Do pray write to me very often—say anything, whatever it be, that first comes to your lips.

XLVII. (AD ATT. VII. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT MINTURNAE (?) TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Jan. 19, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

While Caesar was at Ariminum, Titus Labienus, his very able second in command, deserted to the Pompeian camp—the solitary instance of a defection from the great general during the whole war. Caesar contemptuously sent his baggage after him, and then moved southwards and occupied the district of Picenum (now called The Marches), almost without opposition. Pompeius entrusted Cicero with a general superintendence of the Campanian coast in his interests, while he himself fell back, first upon Luceria in Apulia, and then on Brundisium. Cicero professed to Pompeius (see Letter 1.) to be zealously discharging his commission, but let Caesar know that he was residing quietly on his own estates. This letter may be from Cales or Antium.

This letter has a curiously declamatory tone, differing much from the one of two days before. The succeeding letters show perpetually shifting phases of feeling, varying from confidence to utter despair, but all alike penetrated by a dread, amply justified, of the probable cruelties of the Pompeian party.

Mommsen, iv. 362; Merivale, ii. 141; Long, v. ch. 1.; Forsyth, 355-359; Abeken, 284-296.

1 Pray tell me, what is the meaning of all this? What is happening? To me it is all as dark as night. ‘We have lost Ancona, but still hold Cingulum:¹ Labienus has deserted

¹ Now Cingoli, in the Marches, about 20 m. south-west of Ancona. Though it had been rebuilt by Labienus out of his enormous wealth (Letter xliv. note 8), it opened its gates at once to Caesar.

Caesar's standard.' Why, are we talking of a Roman general, or is it of a Hannibal? O mad and pitiable man! who has never seen even in a faint reflection '*splendorem pulcritudinemque virtutis.*'² And yet he says he is doing all this 'for the sake of his honour.' Why, how can there be honour without what is honourable? Is it 'honourable' then to retain your army without the lawful authority—to capture the towns of your fellow countrymen, in order to clear the road to the city that gave you birth—to be plotting your '*table rase de dettes,*' your '*rentrée des émigrés,*'³ and countless other nefarious watchwords, for the sake of empire,—'the queenliest' as Eteocles says, 'of the gods in heaven.'⁴

Much good may his successes do him! Dearer to me, upon my honour, is one day's basking in that well-earned⁵ sunshine of yours, than all the kingdoms in the world if they must be won by such means; nay, let me rather die a thousand deaths than harbour one moment such a thought as his. But, say you, what if you only wished for it? Surely nobody is forbidden to wish? Nay, I on the contrary hold that this mere wishing is more wretched than being nailed upon the cross; there is but one thing more miserable than it—to be granted your wish after all.

But enough of this: I am only too ready to find it an easy ³
passe-temps to dwell upon these troubles with you.⁶ To return to our chief—for heaven's sake tell me what you think of Pompeius's resolution—I mean of course his abandoning

² I have ventured to adopt this paraphrase because it is Cicero's own attempt (*De Off.* ii. 10) to express the inseparable notion of beauty so hard to translate in *τὸ καλόν*. Moreover a stilted and rhetorical phrase is in keeping with the tone of this remarkable letter, which must surely have been intended for some sort of publication.

³ See Letter lxxi. note 1.

⁴ Eur. *Phoen.* 506.

⁵ The exact force of this word is hard to determine, even if the text is beyond doubt. Its legal meaning is, 'a thing acquired by bequest or gift' (Forcellini), and this may be the right one here, but then we cannot explain the allusion. Or it may imply that such enjoyment is the true *gain* of industry, opposed to the prizes at which Caesar is wrongly grasping. Boot explains it as either a holiday for basking in the sun successfully snatched from business, or a sunny view gained by the removal of obstructions.

⁶ COCON is of course a *vox nihili*, probably concealing some Greek participle. Baiter suggests *σῶς ὁν*; Boot and Wesenberg *σοῖ*, but this fails to account for the corruption; Tyrrell and Purser *τόσον*.

Rome? Because for my part *je n'y vois goutte*. At times I say nothing could be more unreasonable. ‘What, abandon the capital! Then would you do just the same if the Gauls were to come?’ ‘One’s country,’ says he, ‘does not consist of bricks and mortar.’ ‘No, but it does of hearths and homes.’ ‘Themistocles did just the same when his city could not stand by herself against the rising flood of barbarism.’ ‘Well, but so did Pericles *not* do some fifty years later on, though he had only the bare shell of the city to save; and our own forefathers in the olden time, after they had lost the rest of Rome, still held out in their citadel.

‘*Ad nos sic tenuis famae perlabitur aura.*’⁷

4 On the other hand, from the indignation of the provincial towns and the language of people I meet, there seems ground for believing that this resolution will not be without some effect. The universal complaint is very remarkable (I do not know how it may be with you, but you will be sure to let me know), that Rome has no Senate, no government left. The flight of Pompeius is at last creating a profound sensation; in short, I may say the aspect of the case is quite altered; they think now that no concessions whatever must be made to Caesar. Do explain to me what all this really means.

5 I myself have had put under my care a not very troublesome business. Pompeius wants me to be in the position of a sort of *Préfet* to Campania⁸ and all the seaboard about here, to whom the levying of troops and management of things in general are to be referred, and so I expect to have to move about from place to place. You of course can see by this time the real object of Caesar’s *élan*, and what the inclinations of the populace point to, and in fact affairs in general. Do write to me about it all, and moreover, since changes are so rapid, as often as possible, for I become pacified when I am either writing to you or reading what you have to tell me.

⁷ Aen. vii. 646. Cicero is quoting from Iliad, ix. 524.

⁸ It is doubtful whether this means Campania Proper, or what was afterwards the 1st Regio of Augustus, which includes the Campagna. See Tyrrell and Purser, iv. p. xiv.

XLVIII. (AD ATT. VII. 13.)

FROM CICERO AT CALES¹ OR MINTURNAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Jan. 23, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

About that business of Vennonius I agree with you.² Labienus has, in my judgment, acquitted himself *en héros*. We have not for a long while had a more noble example to citizens, and he has succeeded, if in nothing else, at least in annoying his chief; but, even on broader grounds, I think it has done some good. My heart warms too towards Piso, whose deliberate verdict about his son-in-law³ will, I suspect, carry weight with it. Yet you see the real character of this war—a civil war no doubt, yet not because it is the offspring of the dissensions of citizens, but of the reckless ambition of one abandoned citizen. Now his strength is in his army, and while he is attracting many by hopes and promises, his desires have risen to no less than everything every one else can call his own. This is the man to whom the capital has been abandoned, overflowing with supplies, and stripped naked of all defence! What is there you have not to dread from one who can regard your holy temples and your homes, not as his country, but his prize of war? But what his next movements are to be, and how he means to carry them out without Senate or Government, I cannot see. He will not be able for a moment even to pretend that his acts are constitutionally *en règle*. But we—ah, where and when shall we be allowed to raise our heads again, when you perceive as clearly as myself how *peu général* is our general? Why he did not even know about goings on in Picenum; and facts show how entirely he is without any settled plan; for, to say nothing of his other blunders these ten years past, what conceivable terms were not

¹ Now Calvi, about ten miles north-west of Capua. Cicero seems to have been fond of the place.

² Gaius Vennonius was a collector in Cilicia, and a friend of Cicero. The allusion in this paragraph we have no means of explaining.

³ Caesar's wife Calpurnia was the daughter of this Piso, the consul of 58 B.C.

2 better than running away thus? Indeed, even now I do not know what his views are, yet I lose no opportunity of pressing the question upon him by letter. It is obvious that his timidity and confusion are the utmost that can be conceived; so that I not only find no forces (to raise which was the very object of his being retained near Rome), but no place fixed as the centre for our forces. We have to trust entirely to two legions that have been kept ready for us by a piece of sharp practice,⁴ and are at heart all but for our opponents. For hitherto, at any rate, our recruits have been enlisted against their will, and are strongly disinclined to fighting; yet the time for making terms is gone by. What is to be the end I cannot see; at all events we—or our general if you like—have brought it to this, that we have left the harbour without a rudder, and
 3 must trust ourselves to the storm. Consequently I am in doubt what to do about our boys. At times I think they had better be sent away to Greece. Then, again, about Tullia and Terentia—when a vision rises before my eyes of barbarian troops entering Rome I shudder at everything, but when I think of Dolabella I breathe again a little. But I should like you to decide what you think ought to be done, first of all, with regard to *la sûreté* (for you see it is one thing for me to take thought for them, and quite another for myself); and, secondly, to what people will think of it, so that I may not be blamed for consenting to let them stay at Rome when all good citizens have left it in a body. If I may go farther, you too and Peducaeus, who has written to me, must now make up your minds how you mean to act, for the place you both occupy in your order is such that just as much will be expected of you as of men in the highest rank of the state. But of this you may well judge yourself, seeing that it is you I have to ask to take thought for me and mine.

4 I have only now to ask you to find out as far as you can how matters are going, and to let me know, and any conjectures as to the future at which you have arrived. This last indeed

⁴ See Introd. to Letter xxxv. The Senate moreover kept the two legions thus demanded by Pompeius for the Parthian war in readiness for his use at Capua.—Mommsen, iv. 353. The remarkable admissions as to the unpopularity of the Pompeian party should be noticed. See Lett. xli. note 5.

I am even more anxious to get from you; because while everybody is telling me what has happened, I look to you for what is going to happen, and

'bene qui conicit vatem hunc perhibebo optumum.'⁵

You will pardon my running on thus; it is not only a relief to me, at any rate when I am writing to you, but it extracts a letter from you in reply.

XLIX. (AD ATT. VIII. II A.)

FROM POMPEIUS AT LUCERIA IN APULIA TO CICERO AT FORMIAE.

Feb. 10, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

It is interesting to contrast this insulting offer of protection with the graceful courtesy of Caesar's letter (lxx.) See Tyrrell, ii. xli.; Letter lvi. 6.

To-day, the 10th of February, Fabius Vergilianus has joined me. From him I learn that Domitius with his eleven cohorts, and fourteen cohorts that Vibullius has brought up, is on his way to me. His intention was to start from Corfinium on the 13th, Hirrus to follow soon after with five of the cohorts. I give my opinion that you must come to us at Luceria; here, I think, you will be most in safety.

L. (AD ATT. VIII. II B.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO POMPEIUS AT LUCERIA.

Feb. 15, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

I have received your letter at Formiae this day, the 15th of February, from which I gathered that what had happened in the Marches of Picenum was far more favourable than it had been represented to me, and I was glad to recognise the bravery and energy of Vibullius. For myself, while I have not yet quitted that part of the coast with the command of

⁵ This is Cicero's own rendering (*De Div.* ii. 5) of the line of Euripides, from an unknown play, which in this letter he half quotes in the original.

which I was entrusted, I have none the less kept a vessel in readiness. Indeed, such were the reports I heard and such my anxiety, that whatever plan you had decided upon, that I should have deemed it my duty to pursue. Now since, thanks to your encouragement and advice, I am in better hopes, if you think it possible to hold Tarracina and the sea-coast I will remain there, though there are no garrisons in the towns. In fact there is no one of our rank in these parts except Marcus Eprius, a prudent and active officer whom I decided to station at Minturnae, since Lucius Torquatus, a gallant gentleman and of influential position, is not with me at Formiae, being,

2 I suppose, on his way to join you. Of course, as you had last instructed me, I came to Capua, on the very day you left Teanum Sidicinum; since you had expressed a wish that, in conjunction with the ex-praetor, Marcus Considius, I would there represent your interests. On arriving I found Balbus busily employed in raising troops, which were then transferred to the command of Libo, who is also a man of great zeal, and of much influence in that district. I stayed at Capua as long as the consuls, and came back to Capua a second time, as the consuls had ordered, on the 5th of February. After a stay of

3 three days I returned again to Formiae. At present I am not aware what are your designs or plan of campaign. If you think we ought to hold this coast—and it certainly has a good position and possesses considerable importance and inhabitants of distinction, and, in my judgment, is capable of being maintained—then there must be some one to take the command; if, on the other hand, we are to concentrate all our forces, I have no hesitation about coming to you at once, and there is nothing I should wish more: indeed, I mentioned this to you the day we left Rome. For my own part, if there is anybody to whom I still seem inclined to fail in energy, provided only I am not so in yours, I care nothing; and yet if, as I perceive, we must go to war, I have full confidence that I shall without difficulty do my duty to the satisfaction of all.

4 I have sent you a confidential friend, Marcus Tullius, for you to give him letters, if you think fit, for me.

LI. (AD ATT. VIII. 12 D.)

FROM POMPEIUS AT LUCERIA TO LUCIUS DOMITIUS
AHENOBARBUS AT CORFINIUM.

Feb. 17, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

The first resistance to Caesar's rapid progress southwards was made at Corfinium. That city, the capital of the ancient Paeligni, in the territory now called the Abruzzi, near Popoli, occupied one of the strongest positions in Italy, for which reason it had been the proposed capital of the allies in the Social War. Domitius, Caesar's intended successor in Gaul, there made a stand against Caesar, who invested the place on Feb. 14, for seven days, hoping for relief from Pompeius. On the receipt of this letter he infamously attempted to escape, leaving his soldiers behind, but they against his will handed the town over to the conqueror. This was the first signal example of the extraordinary clemency of Caesar throughout the whole war. He dismissed all his prisoners unharmed, merely proclaiming himself as the representative of law and order.

Mommsen, iv. 375, 376; Merivale, ii. 145-150; Long, v. ch. 2; Forsyth, 359; Abeken, 288.

I have this day—February 17—received the letter in which you inform me that Caesar has invested Corfinium. What I suspected and forewarned you of is now being done, namely, that without wishing to risk a battle with you at present he is drawing all his forces together, and hemming you in, so that you may not have free communication with me, and thus succeed in uniting your ranks of loyal citizens with those legions of whose fidelity we are doubtful. This makes me all the more disturbed by your letter. For, in the first place, I have not sufficient confidence in the fidelity of the soldiers I have with me to stake the whole fortunes of the country on one battle; while, added to this, the men who have been enrolled in the consuls' levies have not yet joined. So make every effort, if by any possible means you can even now succeed in extricating yourself, to come here as soon as possible before the enemy can get all his forces together; for the new recruits cannot be collected here on short notice, and, even if they were collected, you are not unaware how little we can trust these men who barely even know one another against experienced regiments.

LII. (AD FAM. XVI. 12.)

FROM CICERO AT CAPUA TO HIS FREEDMAN TIRO AT PATRAE.

Jan. 27, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Marcus Tullius Tiro, the favourite freedman and pupil of Cicero, was in the opinion of many critics the first collector and editor of his master's letters, as he certainly was of his life and speeches. See *Ad Fam. xvi. 5* (the whole of that book of the letters is addressed to him); Boissier, *Recherches sur la manière dont furent recueillies et publiées les lettres de Cicéron*, p. 8. At this time he was lying ill at Patrac (*Patras*) in Greece. This letter ought to precede Letter *xlix*.

Smith's Dict. Biogr. iii. p. 1152; Forsyth, 347; Abeken, 271.

- 1 You may judge of the imminent hazard to which my safety, like that of all true patriots, nay, the whole fabric of the state is exposed, from the fact that we have left our homes, yes, and our city herself, to be pillaged, it may be, or burnt. To such a state have things come that, without some interference of God's providence or of chance, we must inevitably be ruined.
- 2 For my own part, ever since I came to Rome I have never ceased to think, or say, or do, whatever was towards the side of peace; but an unaccountable madness had fastened not only on the enemies, but even on the nominal friends of order, so that they were burning to fight it out, I meanwhile crying to them that the worst of all miseries is a civil war. Consequently when Caesar, hurried away it would seem by his passions, and forgetting alike his name and his position, had seized Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, and Arretium, we abandoned the capital. How far this was bravely, how far it was wisely done, it is beside the question now to discuss; at any
- 3 rate you see what peril we are in. These, on the whole, are the terms that he offers: that if Pompeius will proceed to Spain, and we will disband the men we have lately enrolled, and our forces in garrison, he will then resign Northern Gaul to Domitius, and Southern to Considius Nonianus, to whom they have been assigned, and will return home to stand for the consulship, withdrawing his claim to be allowed to be nominated for it in his absence, and putting in an appearance as a candidate for the three market-days. These terms we have

accepted, only with the stipulation that he shall remove his garrisons from the towns he has occupied, so that the Senate may be convened without fear at Rome to authorise these items of the agreement. Supposing he consents to this, there is some hope of peace, not with honour, because we are being dictated to, but anything in the world is better than to go on as we are at present. Should he however prove unwilling to stand by his own conditions, war is meant at once, but it would be of such a kind as he could hardly face, especially if he has been the first to back out of the agreement he himself has made, provided only that we can succeed in cutting him off from all access to the city. This we are in hopes can be done, as we are enrolling large numbers, and have reason to believe that he is afraid, if he takes the step of marching against Rome, of losing the two provinces of Gaul, both of which he finds are, with the exception of the Transpadanes, most hostile to him. There are too in his rear six legions from Spain, and some powerful auxiliaries under the command of Afranius and Petreius. It seems probable that if he persists in his mad venture he may be crushed. If only we can save Rome! Moreover he has suffered a very great blow in the refusal of Titus Labienus, who held the highest position in his army, to be a partaker in his impious attempt. He has abandoned his chief and is now with us, and it is said there are several who will do the same.

For myself, I am still in charge of all the sea-coast beyond Formiae. I shrank from undertaking any more important duty, in order that my letters and remonstrances might carry greater weight towards forwarding peace with him. If however there is to be war, I see that I shall definitely be put in command of a camp and some regular legions. I have another annoyance too from one of our family, Dolabella, being in Caesar's camp. All this, which I wanted to let you know, you must be sure not to let worry you, and interfere with your recovery.

I have written a strong appeal on your behalf to Aulus Varro, whom I have found to be not only warmly attached to myself but also to have a great regard for you, to be careful about your health and your voyage home, and to take you

entirely under his charge and protection. All this I feel confident he will do, because he not only promised it, but spoke very obligingly to me about you. Since you could not be with me at the time when I was most in need of your services and your fidelity, be sure you do not now overhurry yourself, or run the risk of putting to sea if you are unwell or the weather is bad. I shall never think you have been late in coming when you have once come safe. Up to the present time I have met nobody who has seen you since Marcus Volusius, from whom I got your letter. This I was not surprised at, since my letter too could hardly, I should think, get safe to you in such stormy weather as this. But do your best to get well again, and if you are quite recovered when one can sail with comfort, to sail then. My son Marcus is at my house at Formiae, Terentia and Tullia are at Rome. Make haste to get well again.

CAPUA, Jan. 27.

LIII. (AD FAM. XVI. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT CUMAE TO TIRO IN GREECE (?).

Mr. Watson says: 'As the date of this letter is uncertain and unimportant I have inserted it here as an illustration of Cicero's care for Tiro.' Körner assigns it to 53 B.C. See Tyrrell-Purser, vi., Letter 923.

Aegypta arrived here on the 12th of April. Although he reported that you were now quite rid of your fever and going on very well, he nevertheless caused me some anxiety by his report that you were not able to write to me, the more so because Hermia, who ought to have been here on the same day, has not yet come. I am more anxious than you can believe about your health. Only free me from this anxiety and I will free you from all duties. I would write you more if I thought you could now read more with pleasure. Use all the talents you possess, of which I have no small opinion, to keep yourself safe for my sake as well as your own. Again and again I repeat, take every precaution about your health. Good-bye.

P.S.—Hermia is just come. I have your note with its poor ² shaky handwriting—no wonder too after so severe an illness. I send out Aegypta to stay with you because he is not a bad companion and appeared to me to be fond of you, and with him a cook, for you to make use of his services. Good-bye.

LIV. (AD ATT. VIII. 3.)

FROM CICERO AT CALES TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Feb. 18 or 19, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Being in extreme agitation about these great and terrible ¹ events, and having no means of discussing matters with you in person, I want at any rate to avail myself of your judgment. Now the question about which I am in doubt is simply this. If Pompeius should fly from Italy (which I suspect he will do), how do you think I ought to act? To make it easier for you to advise me, I will briefly set forth the arguments that occur to me on both sides of the question.

The obligations that Pompeius laid me under in the matter ² of my restoration, my own intimacy with him, and also my patriotism incline me to think that I ought to make my decision as his decision, or, in other words, my fortunes as his fortunes. There is this reason also. If I stay behind and desert my post among that band of true and illustrious patriots, I must perforce fall completely under the yoke of one man. Now although he frequently takes occasion to show himself friendly to me—indeed, as you well know, anticipating this storm that is now hanging over our heads, I took good care that he should be so long ago—still I have to consider two different questions—first, how far can I trust him; and, secondly—assuming it to be absolutely certain that he is friendly disposed to me—would it show the brave man or the honest citizen to remain in a city where one has filled the highest offices of peace and war, achieved immortal deeds, and been crowned with the honours of her most dignified priesthood, only to become an empty name and undergo some risk, attended also very likely with considerable disgrace, should Pompeius ever again grasp

3 the helm?¹ So much for this side; see now what may be said on the other.

Pompeius has in our cause done nothing wisely, nothing strongly; nothing, I may add, that has not been contrary to my opinion and advice. I pass over those old complaints, that it was he who himself nourished this enemy of the Republic, gave him his honours, put the sword into his hand—that it was he who advised him to force laws through by violence, trampling on the warnings of religion²—that it was he who made the addition of Transalpine Gaul, he who is his son-in-law, he who as Augur allowed the adoption of Clodius; who showed more activity in recalling me than in preventing my exile; who took it on him to extend Caesar's term of government; who supported all his proceedings while he was away: that he too even in his third consulship, after he had begun to pose as a defender of the constitution, actually exerted himself to get the ten tribunes to propose that absence should not invalidate the election; nay more, he expressly sanctioned this by one of his own acts, and opposed the consul Marcus Marcellus, who proposed that the tenure of the Gallic provinces should come to an end on the 1st of March—but anyhow, to pass over all this, what could be more discreditable, what more blundering, than this evacuation of the city, or I had better say this ignominious flight? What terms ought not to have been accepted sooner than abandon our country? The terms were bad? That I allow; but is anything worse than this? But 4 he will win back the constitution? When? What preparations have we made to warrant such a hope? Have we not lost all Picenum? have we not left open the road to the capital? have we not abandoned the whole of our treasure, public and private, to the foe? In a word, there is no common cause, no strength, no centre, to draw such people together as might yet care to show fight for the Republic. Apulia has been chosen—the most thinly populated part of Italy, and the most

¹ *Nomen* is a mere conjecture for *non*, after which some word, such as *idem*, may have dropped out. The reading *fore* is impossible, and should almost certainly be *forte*. Boot's objection that there was no doubt about the disgrace is of no weight, *forte* often meaning 'very likely,' and not implying a doubt at all.

² See Letter x. 2.

remote from the line of movement of this war : it would seem that in despair they were looking for flight, with some easy access to the coast. I took the charge of Capua much against my will³—not that I would evade that duty, but in a cause which evoked no sympathy from any class as a whole, nor any openly even from individuals (there was some of course among the good citizens, but as languid as usual), and where I saw for myself that the mass of the people, and all the lowest stratum, were more and more inclined to the other side, many even longing for a revolution, I told him to his face I would undertake to do nothing without forces and without money. Consequently I have had no responsibility at all, because I⁵ saw from the very first that nothing was really intended but flight. Say that I now follow this ; then whither ? Not with him ; I had already set out to join him when I found that Caesar was in those parts, so that I could not safely reach Luceria. I must sail by the western sea, in the depth of winter, not knowing where to steer for. And again, what about being with my brother, or leaving him, and taking my son ? How then must I act, since either alternative will involve the greatest difficulty, the greatest mental anxiety ? And then too what a raid he will make on me and my fortunes when I am out of the way—fiercer than on other people, because he will think perhaps that in outrages on me he holds a means of popularity.⁴ Again, these fetters, remember—I mean these laurels on my attendants' staves,⁵ how inconvenient it is to take them out of Italy ! What place indeed will be safe for me, supposing I now find the sea calm enough, before I have actually joined him ? though where that will be, and how to get there, I have no notion.

On the other hand, say that I stop where I am and find⁶

³ *Invite* is an obvious correction of *in te*, and occurs on the margin of the Medicean MS. Boot rejects the adverb (*invitus?*), and reads *non accepi*. Compare Ad Att. viii. 12, 'accipere Capuam nolui.' Cicero stayed there some time (Letter I.), but regarded it as incapable of defence.

⁴ This important admission stands almost alone in Cicero's writings, and deserves more notice than it has received. It seems to show at least that the execution of Catilina's associates had never been forgiven, and that the acclamations on Cicero's recall (Letter xx.) were not those of the masses. Compare Beesly, Clodius, 64, 81 ; and Mr. Watson's note on this passage.

⁵ Compare Letter xlvi.

some place on this side of the water, then my conduct will precisely resemble that of Philippus, or Lucius Flaccus, or Quintus Mucius under Cinna's reign of terror.⁶ And however this decision ended for the last-named, yet still he at any rate used to say that he saw what really did happen would occur, but that it was his deliberate choice in preference to marching sword in hand against the homes of the very city that gave him birth. With Thrasybulus it was otherwise and perhaps better; but still there is a sound basis for the policy and sentiments of Mucius; as there is also for this [which Philippus did⁷]: to wait for your opportunity when you must, just as much as not to lose your opportunity when it is given. But even in this case, those staves again of my attendants still involve some awkwardness; for say that his feelings are friendly to me (I am not sure that this is so, but let us assume it); then he will offer me a triumph. I fear that to decline may be perilous—[to accept] an offence with all good citizens.⁸ Ah, you exclaim, what a difficult, what an insoluble problem! Yet the solution must be found; for what can one do? And lest you should have formed the idea that I am rather inclined towards staying, because I have argued more on that side of

⁶ Lucius Marcius Philippus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, all probably ex-consuls, remained in Rome after the occupation of Cinna and Marius (87 B.C.) when the rest of their party fled to Sulla's camp. The last-named was murdered by Damasippus, by order of the younger Marius. Mommsen, iii. 327, 336. Thrasybulus, on the other hand, left Athens under the Thirty Tyrants, and when he returned in 401 B.C. it was to overthrow them.

⁷ The word *Philippi* is apparently the gloss of some copyist who mistook the meaning of *illa*, which rather unusually refers to the words following. For the conduct of Mucius and of Philippus has just been stated as identical, namely, staying at Rome in spite of the danger, whereas here an antithesis is obviously meant. This must be either the example of Thrasybulus, or the moral of it—to wait for your opportunity—which Cicero intimates he should approve.

⁸ It is quite possible to translate these words as they stand, *ne* depending on *vereor* understood, as in De Fin. v. 3, 8, *sed ne, dum huic obsequor, vobis molestus sim*; Plautus, Most. 922; Tac. Ann. i. 47; Hist. iii. 46; etc. The various conjectures, *me* for *ne*, and *est* for *sit* (Orelli, Boot); to make *ne* = 'even if it be not' (Hofmann); etc., are therefore unnecessary, in spite of Boot's off-hand assertion of the violence to language done by a defence of *ne*. But the insertion of *accipere* is absolutely required by the sense: it was not the refusal of a triumph, but the acceptance of it from Caesar that would be an offence with the 'good citizens.'

the question, it is quite possible, as is so frequently the case in debates, that one side has more words, the other more worth. Therefore I should be glad if when you give me your opinion you would look upon me as making up my mind quite dispassionately on a most important question. I have a ship both at Caieta and at Brundisium.

But lo and behold, while I am writing you these very ⁷ lines by night in my house at Cales, in come the couriers, and here is a letter to say that Caesar is before Corfinium, and that in Corfinium is Domitius with an army resolute and even eager for battle. I do not think our chief will go so far as to be guilty of abandoning Domitius, though it is true he had already sent Scipio on before with two cohorts to Brundisium, and written a despatch to the consuls ordering that the legion enrolled by Faustus should go under the command of one consul to Sicily: but it is a scandal that Domitius should be left to his fate when he is imploring him for help. There is some hope, not in my opinion a very good one, but strong in these parts, that there has been a battle in the Pyrenees between Afranius and Trebonius; that Trebonius has been beaten off; that your friend Fabius also has come over to us with all his troops; and, to crown it all, that Afranius is advancing with a strong force. If this be so, we shall perhaps make a stand in Italy. As for me, since Cæsar's route is uncertain—he is expected about equally by way of Capua and of Luceria—I have sent Lepta to Pompeius with a letter, while I myself, for fear of falling in with him anywhere, have started again for Formiae. I thought it best to let you know this, and am writing with more composure than I have written of late, not inserting any opinion of my own, but trying to elicit yours.

LV. (AD ATT. VIII. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Feb. 25, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

This letter speaks of an answer to Caesar, which had somehow been made public, and the expressions here quoted from it are found in Letter lxiv. But

the latter not being mentioned in Letter lxiii., the date of which is March 18, was probably not written until after that one, whereas this is dated Feb. 25. Schütz therefore supposes, and his conjecture is generally accepted, that it is a combination of two, probably at the word *εὐερῆ*, which were written at different times.

1 I am not at all troubled about what you tell me, that my letter has got abroad: indeed I have myself given it to several people to take a copy of; for after all that has happened, and all that is hanging over us, I cannot but wish that it should be left on record what my views are about terms of peace. Now in using arguments towards this end, above all when addressed to such a man as he is, I saw no more likely way of impressing him than by saying that my object in writing would commend itself to his 'wisdom.' If I have called that 'admirable,' inasmuch as my object was to urge him to do what is essential for the safety of our country, I had no dread of the appearance of flattering a man at whose feet in such a cause I would willingly have flung myself. As to the passage about granting some time, that has nothing to do with terms of peace, but is to ask for some consideration for myself, and for what I owe to my friends: for when I assure him that I have had no part in the war, though that is plainly attested by facts, I have all the same laid some stress on this to give more weight to my recommendations; and this applies also to my acceptance of
 2 his claim. But why all this now? If it had only done some good! Truly, I will make no objection, if this letter you speak of is to be read in a public assembly, seeing that our chief himself has published a letter he wrote to the same correspondent in which these words occur: 'considering your *most* distinguished services.' More distinguished than his own then—more than Scipio's? It was only the exigency of the times; why even such men as you and your friend go five miles out on the road to meet him:—and why just now? Ask yourself whence¹ he is coming; what he is doing now; what he means to do. Why, how much more boldly will he be able to trust his own claim, when he has found people like

¹ Boot reads *de* for *unde*, when the meaning will be, 'What pledges is he willing to give about himself?' This slight change, accepted also by Baiter, avoids the different meaning given to *quid* in the two clauses, and the awkward use of *se recipere* for a victorious march.

you not only thronging to him, but welcoming him with looks of joy? Are you to blame then? No, you indeed are most certainly not; but all the same the signs are much confounded, by which one might tell a real from a counterfeit sympathy with him. Then what about these decrees of the Senate lying before me? This, however, is more open than I had intended. I hope to be at Arpinum on the last day of the month, and then to make the round of our country houses, which I despaired of ever seeing again.

Your advice is that of an *homme de cœur*, and yet is not too bold for our present times, and has my warm approval. Lepidus indeed, whose *camarade* I find myself most days now, much to his gratification, never did approve of quitting Italy; far less does Tullus, whose letters are frequently passed on to me by other people. But their opinion had less weight with me; they had not given their country so many pledges for the future. Now your opinion, I give you my word, has immense influence with me, since it holds out a way at once of keeping all that I have in the present and recovering everything in the future. But look at this: what can be more wretched than that one man should be reaping applause in the basest of causes, another in the noblest only odium: that one should be looked on as the preserver of his enemies, the other as the betrayer of his friends! And, upon my honour, with all the love for my friend Pompeius that I ought to and do feel, I cannot possibly approve of his refusing to help such men as this. For if he was afraid, what could be more ignoble? if—as certain people fancy—he believed his cause would be all the stronger if they were massacred—what more iniquitous? But let us say no more of this; we only increase a sore by touching it again and again.

On the evening of the 24th the younger Balbus came to me, while hastening secretly on a mission from Caesar to the consul Lentulus, bearing a letter with private instructions and the promise of a province, on condition that he would return to Rome; but I do not think it will be possible to persuade him unless there is to be an interview. He assured me too that there was nothing Caesar wanted more than to overtake

Pompeius (that I can quite believe), and come to a reconciliation with him ; this I do not believe, and am afraid that all this moderation is being heaped up to pave the way to the crowning act of atrocity.² It is true that the elder Balbus writes to me that Caesar wants nothing more than to live in peace and quiet with Pompeius as the first citizen of the state. This (of course) you believe ! But even now (the 25th), while I am writing, Pompeius may have got to Brundisium ; for on the 19th he had already started in light marching order before the legions from Luceria. But oh, the terrible watchfulness, activity, and resolution of this Proteus !³ I am utterly at a loss to know what will happen.

LVI. (AD ATT. VIII. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Feb. 27, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

1 As to the great anxiety you suppose me to be suffering from, I am so, it is true, but not so much as you perhaps imagine : trouble is always lighter when one's resolution is fixed, or when brooding over it does no good. We are still however allowed to lament, and this, in spite of what I have said,¹ fills up my days ; though I fear that while gaining nothing by it at all I may at the same time be discrediting myself as a scholar and a philosopher. So I am spending all my time in reflecting what force of character there is in the ideal statesman, whom I have portrayed with sufficient accuracy—at least you tell me so—in my book. Do you remember then there what I would have the guardian of the State take as his

² *Unam illam* is probably corrupt. Orelli proposes *Sullanam*, Boot *Cinnanam*; Tyrrell and Purser *Cinneam*, as in Fam. i. 9. 11.

³ *τέρας*=a monster, a creature more than human. Mr. Watson says this usage is not classical, but the word is used of the Sphinx (Eur. Phoen. 806), and of Cerberus (Soph. Trach. 1098). Proteus, with his rapid power of changing his form, may perhaps reproduce the idea.

¹ *Illud* may = *lamentor*, understood from *lamentari*, or may refer to the following sentence, given as a refrain of lamentation, but the *sed* is an objection to this latter view. Boot reads *quidem* for *tamen*, and makes *illud* refer to the reason for this anxiety viz its uselessness.

universal standard? Because these are the words (in my fifth book, I think) which are put into the mouth of Scipio:—

‘For just as the pilot’s aim is a favourable voyage, the physician’s health, the general’s victory, so is the happiness of his countrymen to our Ruler of the State: that they may live secure in their possessions, rich in all resources, full of honours, and ennobled by virtue. This is the work I would have him accomplish, even the greatest and best of services to mankind.’

This consideration our friend Pompeius has at no time 2 thought of, least of all in the present dispute. Both have been seeking for absolute power: it has not been their aim to make the State happy and virtuous. Nor in truth did he leave Rome because he despaired of defending it, nor yet Italy because he was forced out of her, but from the very first this was his intention, to ransack every land and every sea, to arouse the passions of barbarous kings, to bring whole nations of armed savages into Italy, to get immense armies together. Such a reproduction of Sulla’s tyranny he has long been hankering after, and there are many with him who want to see it. Do you think they have no common ground—that no conditions could have been made between them? There might this very day, only that our happiness does not enter into the *visée* of either; each wants to be despot.

These views I have propounded briefly at your request, 3 since you wanted me to give my opinion about our present troubles. So I warn you *d’avance*, my dear friend, though I am in no fine frenzy, like the maid whom nobody believed, but merely guessing the future according to my lights, of something now ‘far o’er the main.’² Yes, I cannot but prophesy much in her strain: so big with woes is the mournful ‘tale of Troy’ now hanging over our heads.

There is this too which makes our case who stopped at home worse than theirs who went in a body across the seas, that while they dread only one of the combatants, we dread

² Cicero is alluding to a wild prophecy by Cassandra of the fall of Troy in Ennius’s play ‘Alexander,’ which is given more at length in *De Div.* i. 31. It may be thus rendered:—

‘Grows a fleet far o’er the main,
Myriad horrors fill her train!
Lo, they come—along the shore
White-winged ships fierce hosts shall pour.’

4 both. Why did we stop behind then? Well, perhaps because we took your advice, or perhaps because we never fell in with the others, or this was the better course. You will see, I assure you, this very next summer unhappy Italy trodden under foot by slaves, raked together on both sides from every species under the sun. Nor is a proscription, which is said to have been talked of by so many people at Luceria, so much to be dreaded as utter extermination :³ so crushing, I see, will be the force exerted on both sides. Here you have my prediction. Perhaps however you have been looking for a little bit of consolation. I do not see my way to any: we could not possibly be more wretched, more utterly lost, more disgraced than we are.

5 As to your question what Caesar has written to me, it is the usual thing—that my remaining neutral is a great obligation to him personally, and he begs that I will steadily adhere to it. Balbus the younger gives the same injunctions. What he was on his way for was to convey a letter from Caesar to the consul Lentulus, with a promise of rewards if he would turn back to Rome. But in fact, on reckoning the days, I rather think he will cross before a meeting can possibly occur.

6 I wanted you to notice the indifference shown in these two letters I had from Pompeius, and the care I myself took in
7 replying, and have sent you copies of both.⁴ I am watching for the effect of this forced march of Caesar's on Brundisium by way of Apulia. May it be like a chapter of Parthian history! As soon as I have heard anything to speak of I will write to you, and I expect from you what the good sort of people are saying. I am told there are a great many of them at Rome. Of course I know that you do not go among the public, but still you cannot help hearing a good deal. I remember your receiving a book, 'De Concordia,' that was sent you [I know] by Demetrius of Magnesia. This I should be much obliged if you would let me have. You see what is the part I am conning.

³ The exact text here is uncertain, but the general sense is clear.

⁴ These two letters are Ad Att. viii. 11 A (Letter xlix.) and C; the reply is viii. 11 B (Letter l.)

LVII. (AD ATT. VIII. 13.)

✓ FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

About March 1, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Let my use of an amanuensis be a sign of the weakness 1 in my eyes, and a reason too for the shortness of my letter: though indeed at present there is nothing to write about; all our attention is fixed on the news from Brundisium. Supposing he has succeeded in overtaking our chief, then there is a faint hope of peace; but if he finds Pompeius gone across already, there is danger of a bloody war. But do you appreciate the man into whose hands the country has fallen—how lynx-eyed he is, how watchful, how ready? Upon my word, if it should prove that he has put nobody to death, and has not taken a single thing from anybody, he will be intensely popular with the very people who before had dreaded him most. I get a good deal of talk with the people of the 2 country-towns, a good deal with the small farmers: they care for absolutely nothing but their fields, their little farm-houses, their paltry savings. And see how the conditions are reversed: they dread the man they formerly trusted; they love the one they used to fear. I cannot but bitterly reflect what follies and crimes ours must have been to bring us to this. As to what I believe is coming I have written to you, and am now awaiting your answer.

LVIII. (AD ATT. VIII. 15 A.)

FROM THE ELDER BALBUS AT ROME TO CICERO AT FORMIAE.

End of February, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Lucius Cornelius Balbus the elder, a native of Gades, had received the gift of Roman citizenship from Pompeius, the validity of which was defended by Cicero in the extant speech 'Pro Balbo.' He had been much trusted by the triumvirs, and was now Caesar's financial agent at Rome. The adhesion of Cicero, diplomatically suggested under the guise of mediation, would at this period have been valuable, since a course that he was known to take would

probably be followed by nearly all the waverers. Balbus is referred to in Letters xxxiii. 2; xliv. 6; lxxxv. 2. His nephew and namesake mentioned in the last sentence of the letter is spoken of also in lv. 4; lxxxii. 1.

Long, v. 30; Abeken, 293; Forsyth, 368; Froude, Caesar, 411; and compare Letter lx.

My dear Cicero,

1 I earnestly commend a charge to you—a scheme well worthy of your noble character, for bringing back Caesar and Pompeius, estranged as they have been by the machinations of others, to their former harmony. Believe me, Caesar will not only place himself entirely under your directions, but will consider himself indebted to you for a very great kindness if you devote yourself to this. I should like to see Pompeius do the same, but, as times are, I rather wish than hope to see him consent to any terms at all. Once let him stop however and get rid of this panic, and then I shall begin not to despair of your authority having the very greatest weight with him.

2 Your wish that my friend Lentulus [the consul] should remain in this country was gratifying to Caesar, while to myself, I give you my word of honour, it was more than a gratification, since I esteem him so highly that Caesar himself is not more dear to me. If he had only permitted me to converse with him as of old, and not turned his back on my overtures again and again, I should be less wretched than I am. I entreat you not to think that anybody can possibly suffer more than I do at seeing one whom I love better than myself in the position of a consul, but anything rather than a consul in reality. Should he however once consent to be guided by you and take my guarantee for Caesar, and to complete his period of office at Rome, I shall begin to hope that with the sanction of the Senate itself, when it has you to support the question and Lentulus to put it to the house, some harmonious agreement may yet be made between Pompeius and Caesar. This once accomplished I shall consider that my life's work is done.

3 I know you will entirely approve of Caesar's way of dealing with Corfinium, for circumstances being what they were, nothing better could fall out than that the affair should end without bloodshed. I am very glad to hear that you were pleased that your friend, my nephew Balbus, called upon you. Whatever he has pledged himself to you for on Caesar's behalf, and

whatever Caesar's letters have promised, I am quite confident that he has written in perfect sincerity ; and so his acts will prove to you, whatever be the turn his fortunes take.

LIX. (AD ATT. VIII. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 4, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

I have got everything ready except some safe and secret road to the Adriatic, because one cannot venture upon our waters at this time of year. But how am I to get to the place where my feeling inclines and where my duty calls me ? For go I must, and quickly, lest I be trapped and tied by some ill chance. It is not the man himself however who is the attraction, as is supposed ; for I find him now to be as *mauvais général* among generals as I knew him long ago to be *mauvais politique* among statesmen. It is not he therefore who is the inducement, but the talk of people about which I hear from Philotimus, who tells me I am much 'cut up' now by the 'nobles.' Nobles indeed ! Good heavens ! look how they are hastening out in processions ; look how they are bargaining themselves away to Caesar. To the country-towns indeed he is really divine : none of the hypocrisy with which they used to offer prayers for his rival during his illness.¹ The fact is, ² that any violent act our modern Peisistratus² is thought to have abstained from doing gives as much pleasure as if he had stopped somebody else from doing it : he, they hope, may prove benignant ; his rival they fancy in a furious passion. Do you take into account what an *accueil* he gets from the crowd out of every town, what compliments are paid him ? All fear, you will say. Just so, but then I give you my word it is rather of his antagonist : they are charmed with the artful moderation of one ; they shudder at the violence of the other.

¹ This was about a year before. The allusion in Juvenal, x. 284, is well known.

² Peisistratus was the accepted type of a benevolent monarch, which character Caesar had now established, as Phalaris was of a cruel one.

Those who are on the jury-list of the three hundred and sixty, and used to be the chief admirers of our Pompeius, are now (I see one or other of them every day) horrified at something or other of his Lucerian proceedings;³ and so, I ask, who are your ‘nobles’ that they should try to drive me out from Italy while they themselves stop at home? But still, be they what they may,

‘Ne mihi Pulydamas et Troiades—.’⁴

Yet I see clearly all that I can hope for if I do start; and I am casting in my lot with one who is not so much prepared for conquest as for laying Italy waste—in a word,⁵ who will be all I take him to be. Indeed, while penning these lines on the 4th, I am expecting news from Brundisium. News indeed! —how he had disgraced himself by running away from there, and by what road or in what direction his conqueror is returning. When I have ascertained this, if he comes by the Appian road, I think I shall to Arpinum.

LX. (AD ATT. IX. 6 A.)

FROM CAESAR AT BRUNDISIUM TO CICERO AT FORMIAE.

About March 5, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

See Introduction to Letter xlix.

I had barely seen our friend Furnius, and was not able to talk to him or hear his news without inconvenience to myself, being, as I am, in a great hurry, indeed actually on the march, and with my troops already gone on in advance, but I could not let the opportunity pass of writing you a letter and getting

³ *Eius Lucerias* must mean, if anything, the proscription which had been talked of at Lucezia. See Letter lvi. 4. But the expression is scarcely tolerable, though no satisfactory correction has been made.

⁴ Persius, i. 4; which is an allusion to the line of Homer (Il. vi. 442; xxii. 105) quoted by Cicero. He means that he cannot face the sneers of his party, however he may despise its members.

⁵ *Demum* (*Manutius*) is the simplest and not improbable correction of *domum*. Klein reads *dominumque*.

him to convey it, and with it my thanks; though I have done this already many times, and it seems to me I shall have to do so many times more, so well do you deserve this from me. I must particularly request that, since I trust shortly to come to the neighbourhood of Rome, I may see you there to avail myself of your counsels, your influence, your position, and your assistance in all that concerns me. To return to the point:¹ excuse this hurry and the shortness of my letter: anything further you will be able to hear from Furnius.

LXI. (AD ATT. IX. 7.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 13, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

I had written a letter to you to be sent on the 12th, but the person to whom I intended to entrust it did not start that day. However, on that very same day came the messenger 'with flying feet' (that was Salvius's description of him to me), and brought your very full letter, which infused into me, so to speak, some 'fleeting drops of life;' for absolutely restored I cannot say I am. But still what you have done for me is certainly, after all, *l'essentiel*; for, believe me, my one object now no longer is to secure a happy ending, since I see it is the fact that, whether both of them survive or only the one, we shall never again have a free constitution. Therefore I neither indulge in any visions of a quiet life for ourselves, nor struggle against any measures, however harsh. The one thing I used to be much afraid of was lest I should commit, or, perhaps I should say, had already committed anything unworthy. So you may be sure that the letters you sent did me good; not only this longer one, which could not possibly be

¹ Compare Letter cv., where *ad propositum* is used in this sense. Boot however renders 'I will return to this subject hereafter,' and Hofmann 'I will now return to the work I have in hand.' Mr. Watson follows Boot here, but in Letter cv. he renders it 'to resume.' *Ut revertar* would certainly, as he says, be more usual, but *revertar* is perhaps drawn into the same construction as *ignoscere*. The letter, moreover, is written in haste.

more explicit or more complete, but also your shorter one. Nothing gave me more delight in the latter than that my conduct and its motive met with the approval of Sextus Peducaeus: and it is a real pleasure to me that I owe this to you, of whose affection and keen sense of honour I am always sure. But your longer letter relieved not only me but all my friends from anxiety; so I will take your advice and stop in my house at Formiae, lest on the one hand my going to join in the *accueil* he will receive when near town should attract attention, or on the other my not seeing him either here or there should
 3 make him think I purposely avoided him. As to your advice that I should ask him to allow me to show that regard for Pompeius which I have already done for himself, you will find from the letter of Balbus and Oppius (of which I send a copy) that I have long been doing that. I enclose also Caesar's letter to them, which is written in a sane enough spirit, at least considering the depth of his insanity. But if Caesar will not make me this concession, I see what you would like is that I should try to bring about some *pour-parlers* to forward a peace. Well, I am not much afraid of the risk—when there are so many of them hanging over our heads why should I not compound by taking the most respectable?—but I am afraid of laying any load on Pompeius—lest I should see his angry brow bent upon me '*effulgens Gorgone saeva.*'¹ It is indeed perfectly astonishing how our friend has set his heart on a despotism modelled on Sulla's—*je parle à bon escient*. He was never more open about anything. 'Is this the man then,' you will say, 'you would range yourself with?' Believe me, it is his past kindness, not his cause that leads me on; as
 4 it was with Milo, and with—but I'll say no more. Is his cause then not good? Good! it is the best of causes, but it will be advanced, mind you, by the foulest means. His first object is to take Rome and Italy by the throat and starve

¹ Aen. ii. 616. The line of Homer quoted (Odyss. xi. 634) refers to the fear of Odysseus lest Pallas should send some terrible spectre to meet his gaze; and this is—rather too magniloquently—applied by Cicero to his own fear of the angry look of Pompeius, and the 'red spectre' of a proscription. Compare Tennyson, Maud,

'Gorgonised me from head to foot
With a stony British stare.'

them ; then to waste and fire the country, and not to keep his hand from plundering rich people : but as I fear just the same from this side too, if I did not feel I owed a service to him, I should think it better to bear at home whatever might happen. But I hold that he has deserved so well of me that I dare not risk being thought an *ingrat* ; though even of that you have propounded a fair defence.

About my triumph I agree with you : indeed you will find 5 I have freely and fully given up all thoughts of it. I like your idea very much indeed, that while we are moving about, a good time for starting '*avec vent et marée*' may come almost without our knowing it. If only, you say, he prove firm enough ! As to firmness, he has more than even we expected : on that point you may be easy. I promise you, if he is to get the upper hand, he will not leave a single tile on a roof in Italy. And shall I then be found on his side ? Yes, upon my word, it is against my own better judgment and against the examples of history that I want to go, and not so much to help what is done on his side, as to avoid seeing what is done on this ; for you must not dream that you will be able to put up with the mad passions of this party, or that they will take one form only. Though indeed can you possibly fail to see, that with law, and justice, and the Senate alike swept away, neither private nor public resources can be enough for the cravings and the license, the profusion and the neediness, of so many of the neediest of mankind ? So let us away by any passage we can get, though that indeed shall be left to you, but anyhow let us away, because by then we shall know what you are waiting for now, namely, how matters have ended at Brundisium.

I am exceedingly glad (if there is room left for gladness 6 nowadays) that men who are on the right side approve, as you say they do, of the way I have acted hitherto, and that they know I have not left the country. I will inquire more closely about Lentulus's views : this duty I entrusted to Philotimus, a bold man, and an ultra aristocrat.

Lastly, if, as may be, you are at a loss for something to 7 write about—for one could not possibly write at the present time on any other theme, and what more can now be elicited

on this?—still as you have not only ample talents for the purpose (upon my word I am saying what I really feel), but also an affection which gives a stimulus to my talents as well, go on as you are doing and write as much as ever you can. I am slightly indignant that you do not ask me to come to Epirus; I am not a bad companion. But I must say good-bye: just as you have to go for your walk or your shampooing, so I have now to go to bed: indeed it is your letter which has given me some hope of sleep.

LXII. (AD ATT. IX. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 17, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

1 On the 16th of this month I received three letters from you, which were dated the 12th, 13th, and 14th, so I will answer them all in order of seniority. I agree with you that I had best stop where I am in my house at Formiae, and also about the Adriatic; and I will try, as I said in my letter before, whether by any possible means I can get leave from him not to touch anything whatever that has to do with political questions. You praise me for telling you that I put out of mind the old doings and demerits of our friend: and indeed that is literally the case with me. Even the instances you refer to of his dealing hardly by me I never recall; so anxious am I to let my recollection of kindnesses outweigh my resentment of injuries. Let me do therefore as you advise, and pull myself together; for as soon as ever I begin going about the country *je fais le philosophe*, and as I go I cannot give up thinking over my ‘*Problems*,’¹ but there are some of these which are extremely difficult to determine. As to our nobles, let us say by all means that your view is correct, but you know

¹ A subject for discussion of general principles only is θέσις; of particular circumstances ὑπόθεσις. *Haec igitur quaestio a propriis personis et temporibus ad universi generis orationem traducta appellatur θέσις.*—Cic. Orator, 14, 46.

the Greek proverb about Dionysius at Corinth.² Titinius's son is to be found with Caesar. As to your little pretence of being afraid that your advice might not be very welcome to me, the truth is that the only pleasure I have is in your counsel and your letters. So put your professions into practice: never forget to write to me whatever has come into your head: nothing can possibly give me more pleasure.

Now I come to the second letter. You are quite right in ² being incredulous about the number of soldiers; Clodia's³ letter puts it too high by just one-half. It is false too about the ships having been disabled. As for your praise of the consuls, I myself admire their intentions, but do not think much of their judgment, because their departure has swept away all negotiating for peace, which is what I was projecting. After this, therefore, I have returned your 'Demetrius on The Blessings of Peace,' which I entrusted to the care of Philotimus; nor do I feel any doubt in fact but that a bloody war is impending, of which the opening scene will be a famine. Yet this is the war in which I sigh that I have no part! a war in which the mass of iniquity will be so vast that while it is an abominable crime to neglect the support of our parents, our leaders think they must murder by starvation that most aged and venerable of all parents—the Fatherland. Moreover, my fears are not founded on mere conjecture; on the contrary, I was present at their discussions. All this fleet of ours—

² Compare Tusc. Disp. iii. 12, 27: *Est autem impudens luctus maerore se conficientis, quod imperare non licet liberis. Dionysius quidem tyrannus, Syracusis expulsus, Corinthi pueros docebat; usque eo imperio carere non poterat.* Mr. Watson, taking the saying as proverbial of the inconstancy of fortune, suggests that the meaning is, 'But if Caesar were to fail, what would the optimates then say?' But unless the proverb was differently applied in the two passages, which is improbable, that in the Tusc. Disp. seems to determine Cicero's application of it to *a lust for power under any circumstances*. The precise application must necessarily be more or less uncertain without the letter of Atticus which is here commented on; Cicero perhaps means, 'I do not dispute your view of the probable action of the nobles; but remember that what they intend is in any case power for themselves.' The Dionysius referred to is the younger one, who was expelled from Syracuse by Timoleon. The story seems to have been well known, and is frequently quoted, like the similar fate of Louis Philippe. Compare Letter Ixxxvii. § 1, where Cicero jokingly applies it to his own instruction of Hirtius and Dolabella in rhetoric.

³ Not the famous Clodia, but the mother-in-law of the tribune Lucius Metellus.

from Alexandria, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, and Cos—is now being got together for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of Italy and seizing on our corn-growing provinces. Then what a rage he will come in—especially indeed with those who most wished for his safety, as though the people had left him whom he himself left behind! And so while I am in doubt what is the right thing for me to do, my liking for him is a heavy weight in the scale : take that away, and it would be better to die in one's fatherland, than overthrow one's fatherland by trying to save it.

That is certainly true about the north : Epirus, I fear, may be overrun. But what spot in Greece do you suppose will not be plundered? For he openly professes, and holds out the expectation to his soldiers, that even in the bounties to be given he will outstrip his rival. This is an excellent hint of yours, not to show too much deference when I have an interview with the latter, but rather to speak as one in authority. That is undoubtedly what one ought to do. I think I shall to Arpinum when our meeting is over, so that I may not be absent by any chance when he arrives, nor on the other hand have to be running backwards and forwards on such an abominable road. I hear that Bibulus arrived as you mention, and that he started off again on the 14th.

³ Your third letter tells me you were expecting Philotimus, whereas he only left me on the 15th, and that is the reason why my answer to your letter, to which I replied immediately, is late in coming to hand. As to Domitius, it is, I think, as you say : namely that he is on his estate at Cosa, and that his intentions there are a secret.⁴ That basest and most abject of human beings, who asserts that a praetor has the right to hold an election of consuls, is only true to his invariable character in politics.⁵ And so of course here we have the meaning of what Caesar says in the letter of which I sent

⁴ He was really equipping a small fleet at Cosa in order to occupy Massilia. See Introd. to Letter lxxvi.; Merivale, ii. 172.

⁵ This ferocious onslaught probably refers to Marcus Lepidus, afterwards a member of the second triumvirate ; since he, being one of the praetors for this year, could, if the point were established that a praetor might in the

you a copy:⁶ that he wanted to avail himself of my ‘counsels’—well, let that pass; so far it is only a conventional expression: my ‘influence’—that is ridiculous, but I suppose he is making a pretence of this to catch certain votes in the Senate: my ‘position’—perhaps he wants the support of one who has been a consul: and, to wind up, ‘my assistance in all that concerned him.’ After your letter I began to suspect that here we had the real explanation, or something very like it. For it is of the greatest importance to him that there should be no interregnum: now if a consul can be declared elected by a praetor he gains his point. We however find in our Statutes not only that a praetor cannot declare a consul elected, but that even for praetors such an election is illegal, and has no precedent. In the case of consuls it is forbidden because it is declared ‘illegal’ for a higher office to depend for its institution on a lower one; while with praetors it is because they are elected solely to be the colleagues of the consuls, who hold the higher office. We shall not be far out in supposing that he wants me to sanction this, and will not be satisfied with having Galba, and Scaevola, and Cassius, and Antonius.

‘Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat.’⁷

You see however what a storm is hanging overhead.

I will let you know the names of those members of the ⁴ Senate who have crossed the sea as soon as I have certain information. You are right in your view about the commissariat. It cannot possibly be served without regular supplies of money; nor are your fears without reason both of the insatiable demands of those men who now have our general’s ear, and of an iniquitous war. I should certainly like to see our good friend Trebatius all the same, even though he is, you tell me, quite despondent. Be sure you press him to

absence of the consuls (who were now in Epirus) assume their functions, render an important service to Caesar by holding a legal election for the consulship. See Merivale, ii. 225. The constitutional difficulty was eventually solved by Caesar’s being made dictator, and presiding at the election in that capacity.

⁶ This refers to Letter ix.

⁷ Aen. iv. 24, which is a rendering of the line quoted by Cicero, Iliad, iv. 182.

make haste; because it will be convenient for him to have paid me this visit before Caesar comes.

As to your purchase at Lanuvium, I had no sooner heard that Phamea was dead than I wished (supposing we were to be a free country at all) that it might fall to one of my friends; and yet somehow I never even thought of you my greatest of all; because I had seen your cipher⁸ at Delos as well as at Rome, and I knew your idea is generally to inquire in how many years a place will begin to pay, and what is the value of the whole stock on the estate. Still, pretty as it is, I for my part think less of it now than I used to in the days when Marcellinus was consul, when I fancied that those very grounds of yours would, considering that I had a house at Antium, give me more pleasure and come to less expense than if I had been able to rebuild my house at Tusculum. I offered £4500,⁹ and negotiated with a surety to pay the money over, as the landlord was then offering it for sale at Antium; he refused it. But all this class of property is now, I suppose, a drug in the market, owing to the tightness of money. Certainly it will be very convenient for me, or rather for both of us, when you have bought it. But mind you do not make too little of his insane hobbies: it is an extremely pretty place. All such ones however seem to me as if they were already under sentence of devastation. I have now answered your three letters, but I am hoping for more, for your letters have hitherto been my support.

Formiae, the feast of Bacchus.¹⁰

⁸ The general explanation of *digamma* is that it represents F, for *fenus* = interest, or *fundi* = estate, and so is virtually equivalent to 'ledger' or 'rent-roll.' Boot gives up the passage as hopeless, but the correction διάγραμμα, 'schedule,' is not improbable.

⁹ Adopting the reading HS.Q. (= 500,000 sesterces) for N. S. Q. But the whole passage is not only obscure but suspicious. Boot points out that besides the strange construction *egi daret*, a surety could hardly be required when no bargain was made.

¹⁰ The *Liberalia* = March 17. *Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho.* Ovid, Fasti, iii. 713.

LXIII. (AD ATT. IX. 10.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 18, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

At last Pompeius quitted Italy, to which he never again returned. The great rendezvous was fixed at Thessalonica. The consuls with the larger half of the army, which was about 30,000 in all, had sailed for Dyrrachium on the 4th of March; on the 9th Caesar arrived before Brundisium and began a siege. He attempted also to close the mouth of the harbour by moles and a floating bridge, but Pompeius skilfully succeeded in keeping it open until the transports returned from Greece on the 17th, when, in spite of the hostility of the town, he withdrew all but two vessels safely, and sailed for Dyrrachium.

It must be at once obvious that this immediate throwing down of the cards was no panic-stricken flight from Italy, as Cicero usually represents it; but part of a deep-laid scheme, which (see § 6 of this letter) he himself admits to have been fully resolved on two years before. We must remember that in the East the influence of Pompeius, the 'king of kings,' was still paramount, while Caesar there was all but unknown. Now a victory over Caesar in Italy would mean a victory for the Senate and the haughty nobles, who by no means intended to leave supreme power in the hands of Pompeius. (Compare Letter lxii. note 2.) Out of Italy it would mean a triumph over the Senate also, and would thus leave Pompeius supreme in the Republic. Mommsen asserts (iv. 382) that his intention had been—as was certainly the general belief at the time—to go to Spain, where he had a strong army under Varro, Afranius, and Petreius; but that the rapidity of Caesar prevented his embarking from Campania instead of Brundisium. But this leaves no adequate explanation why, being master of the sea, he should still not have reverted to this plan, and it is perhaps more probable that he intended from the first to select Greece as the theatre of the war. See on the whole subject an important passage of Merivale, ii. 150-163; Mommsen, iv. 376-383; Long, v. ch. 3.

An enumeration of the relative forces will be found in Mommsen, iv. 362-372, 400-402; Merivale, ii. 239-243; and Watson, Appendix vii.

I have nothing at all to write, for I have not heard any 1 news, and I answered all your letters yesterday; but since my anxiety not only deprives me of sleep, but will not even be satisfied with keeping me awake unless it is in utter wretchedness, I have determined to write something to you, even without any subject ready, in order to keep up as it were a conversation with you, the only thing which tranquillises me. I seem to 2 myself to have acted like a madman from the first; and the one thing which tortures me is that I did not follow Pompeius, when by every one of his acts he was drifting—or rather rushing—to ruin, just as if I had been one of the rank and

file. When I saw him on the 17th of January he was a panic-stricken man; and that very day I felt sure what was his intention. Since that time he has never had my approval, nor has he once ceased adding blunder to blunder. Meanwhile, no writing to me—no thinking of anything beyond flight! Well, just as in *les affaires d'amour* ladies who are wanting in delicacy, or intelligence, or modesty, disenchant one, so the ugly look of his running away without caring about me put a stop to my affection; for he never acted in a way to deserve that I should make myself a partner of his flight. At the present time my affection is coming again to the surface; I feel I cannot now endure our separation. As to my books, my studies, my philosophy, they have nothing that will do me any good now. For whole days and nights, like the often-quoted bird,¹ I gaze at the sea, longing to fly away. It is a penalty: yes, I am paying the penalty of my rash confidence. Yet where was the rashness in it? What did I ever do without the fullest deliberation? Had there been no object beside that of escaping, of course I would have escaped with the greatest pleasure; but it was a war on the most cruel and extensive scale (and the real meaning of this is just what people even yet do not see) which horrified me. What threats those were against the country-towns—against really worthy individual citizens—even against all who should be found to have stayed behind! How the phrase recurred: ‘Sulla succeeded, shall I not succeed?’ Then again I could not get rid of such thoughts as these. Tarquinus acted badly, who appealed to Porsena and to Octavius Mamilius against his own country; Coriolanus very wickedly, who entreated aid from the Volscians; Themistocles virtuously, who chose death in preference. Hippias, the son of Peisistratus, who fell at the battle of Marathon in arms against his own country, was criminal. But surely Sulla, and Cinna, and Marius acted rightly? Well, let us say rather, perhaps, that they had a claim of right,² but

¹ ‘After this then Dionysius and I lived there (at Syracuse): I meanwhile, like a bird, with far-off gaze, longing for the opportunity to fly away.’—Plato, Ep. vii. 348 A. Compare Psalm lv. 6.

² Mr. Watson, though he adopts Boot's punctuation of a full stop after *recte*, makes *recte = utiliter*, and *immo iure fortusse =* ‘perhaps they even had right on their side,’—thus making *iure* the stronger word. Orelli and

what could be more savage, what more deadly, than the way their triumph was carried out? It was the essential character of this war I shrank from, and all the more because I saw that even worse atrocities were being planned and prepared. Was I to bring up Thracian, Armenian, and Colchian hordes against yonder city of which not a few have called me ‘preserver’ and ‘father’? Was I to bring famine on my own countrymen, desolation on Italy? As for the man himself,³ I reflected, to begin with, that he must be mortal, and then moreover that there were various ways in which he might quite possibly be cut off, while I held that it was my duty, as far as in me lay, to preserve our city and nation so long as the world shall last. At the same time no doubt I was flattered by some sort of hope that a basis of agreement would surely be found before the one would proceed to such a crime, the other to such cruel enormities. The whole scene is now changed; my own feeling is changed: it seems, in the expression of one of your letters, as though for me the sun had fallen out of the sky. As we say of sick people, ‘while there is life there is hope,’ so, as long as Pompeius was in Italy, I never gave up hoping. This is the point where I was deceived; while—to be quite candid—my age declining from the toils of day towards its rest softened me with thoughts of the pleasures of home. Now, although the attempt be dangerous, I shall certainly make it, and fly away from this spot. Perhaps it should have been before, but all that I have just been telling you kept me back, and so above all did your advice. For after writing thus far I have opened a packet of your letters, which I keep under seal, and guard most carefully. Well, in

Matthiae put the full stop after *fortasse*, which seems to imply a similar interpretation. But this is a very unusual meaning to give to *recte*, which, as Boot, following Manutius, argues, must convey stronger approbation than *iure*, the latter not necessarily implying anything more than a legal or technical right. Cicero’s argument seems to be that Sulla, Cinna, and Marius perhaps acted within their rights, because they did not appeal to foreign invaders against their own country, but that their atrocious use of their triumph forbids us to give them the unqualified approbation of having acted ‘rightly.’

³ This is referred to Caesar by Froude, Caesar, 414, Profs. Tyrrell and Purser, and Mr. Shuckburgh, but by Mr. Watson to Pompeius. Cicero in the latter case means that one’s country has higher claims than a friend, *as much as* the friend may die, while one’s country cannot.

the one you wrote on the 21st of January I find as follows : ‘ Let us however look as much at what Pompeius intends, as ‘ at the drift of his rival’s policy ; but if the former decides on ‘ abandoning Italy, he will certainly be acting wrongly, and, in ‘ my own opinion, like a downright *insensé* ; however it will ‘ only be when that occurs that we shall have to upset our own ‘ plans.’ The date of this letter is four days after I left Rome. Next comes, on the 23rd of January : ‘ Provided only that our ‘ friend Pompeius does not abandon Italy, just as he, *insensé* ‘ *qu’il était*, abandoned the capital.’ On the very same day you write a second letter, which answers my questions very explicitly. It is as follows : ‘ To turn to the point about which ‘ you have consulted me—supposing Pompeius does quit Italy, ‘ you ought, I think, to return to Rome, because where is there ‘ any limit to this tour about from place to place ? ’ This made a distinct impression on me, and what I now see is this—an interminable war, coupled with a hopeless flight, which you—
5 *par adoucissement*—call my ‘touring.’ Then on the 27th comes this *pronostic*. ‘ For my part, if Pompeius stops in Italy, and ‘ matters do not come to some settlement, I think the war will ‘ be somewhat protracted ; but if he leaves Italy, I am of opinion ‘ that they are paving the way for a war *à outrance* which will ‘ come later on.’ And this then is the war of which I am driven into becoming, not the mere partaker, but the counsellor and instrument—one which is *à outrance*, and against my own countrymen ! Then on the 7th of February, when more information about Pompeius’s policy was now reaching you, you end one of your letters as follows : ‘ I at any rate could ‘ not advise that if Pompeius quits Italy you also should ‘ follow his flight ; there will be the greatest risk in so doing, ‘ nor will you be forwarding the interests of our country, which ‘ you will be able to forward hereafter supposing you have stayed ‘ behind.’ Show me the man—*patriote* or *politique*—who would not be moved by such advice, coming with the authority of a
6 far-seeing man and a true friend. Next in order, on the 11th of February, you again answer my question thus : ‘ When you ‘ ask me whether I consider a loyal flight or an idle lingering on ‘ the more advantageous course, I am decidedly of opinion that a ‘ sudden departure and a precipitate movement is at the present

' time as inadvisable and dangerous for Pompeius himself as it is
 ' for you ; and in my opinion it will be wiser for you two to be
 ' separated and on your posts of observation. But, upon my
 ' word, I think it is quite a disgrace to us even to entertain
 ' the question of flight.' Disgrace ! this is what our friend has
 contemplated for the last two years ; so much is it the desire
 of his heart to be a Sulla, and indulge in a proscription. This
 is the reason probably why, when you had used some expression
—perhaps *un peu vague*—and I fancied that you had been
giving me [something of] a hint to leave Italy, you carefully
enter a protest against it on the 19th of February : 'I certainly
' never once have hinted in any letter that, supposing Pompeius
' does leave Italy, you ought to go with him ; or if I did so hint,
' I was, I will not say inconsistent, but quite out of my mind.'
Another passage from the same letter : 'There is nothing left
' but flight, which I think, and always have thought, you ought
' under no circumstances to take part in.' Then you discuss
the whole question in a more elaborate letter dated February
22: 'If Manius Lepidus and Lucius Volcatius stop behind I
think it will be right to stop, with the condition that, if
Pompeius escapes and makes a stand anywhere, you should
leave this ghastly *Inferno*⁴ behind, and consent more readily
to be defeated in battle with him than to sit on a throne with
his rival, in the midst of such a sink of iniquity as we clearly
see must come.' After giving various arguments tending to
this conclusion, you add at the end : 'But what if Lepidus
and Volcatius take their departure ? Frankly then, *je n'y vois*
goutte. So whatever is the result, and however it turns out
that you have acted, *il faudra m'y faire*.' Even if you had
had any doubts then, surely you have none now when they
are still here. The next is at the very time of his flight, Feb. 8
25 : 'Meanwhile I have no doubt you will stay in your own
house at Formiae, because that will be for you the most
convenient place *pour épier les évènements*.' On the 1st of
March, when he had now been four days at Brundisium :

⁴ Νεκύια=âmes damnées (Tyrrell), 'a troop of shadows' (Merivale) ; in allusion to the lean and hungry ghosts (Odyss. xi.) who flocked around Odysseus to drink the blood. The phrase is quoted and approved in Letter lxvii. § 2.

'Then we shall be able to consider the question, not of course
'as if you had all your plans intact, but certainly with fewer of
'them broken up than if you were to join him in his leap in the
'dark.' Again, on the 4th of March, though your letter, being
written in immediate expectation of the *accès* of your illness,⁵
is but brief, you say : 'To-morrow I will write more at length,
'and answer everything; still I must just say this, that I do
'not repent of my advice to you to stay; and though it is with
'great anxiety, still, holding that this has less disadvantages than
'the alternative of departure, I abide by my opinion, and am
9 'glad that you have stayed behind.' So again when I was
beginning to be tormented with the fear that I might have
exposed myself to discreditable imputations : 'Still I am far
'from dissatisfied that you are not with Pompeius. This will
'give no difficulty hereafter if there is any necessity, and to
'him, whenever it be, you are sure to be *le bienvenu*. But when
'I say this it is with the reservation that if his rival goes on for
'the future like the beginning he has made, of acting with
'good faith, moderation, and prudence, I shall have to make a
'thorough investigation, and consider more closely what our
10 'interests advise.' On the 9th of March you write that our
friend Peducaeus, whose authority has great weight with me,
'also approves of my having remained quiet.' By these letters
of yours I can console myself into thinking that I have as yet
committed no fault. Only you must defend the advice you
yourself have given; against attack from me there is no such
need, but I want other people to be accomplices. For myself,
if I have not done wrong hitherto, I will be on my guard for
the future. Do you rouse yourself to play the part I described,
and above all help me with the result of your cogitations.

There is no news here as yet about Caesar's return. After
all I have gained something by this letter: I have read all
yours through, and in doing this I have tranquillised myself.

⁵ Compare Letter xliv. § 3.

LXIV. (AD ATT. IX. II A.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO CAESAR AT BRUNDISIUM.

March 19 or 20, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Written in answer to Letter Ix., but since expressions from it are quoted and defended in Letter Iv., there must be some confusion of date: see Introduction to the latter. On other attempts made at this period to secure Cicero's adhesion, or at least his neutrality, see Letter Iviii., and Abeken, 293.

Upon reading your letter—which I received through our friend Furnius—requesting me to stay somewhere within reach of town, I was not so much surprised at your expressing a wish to avail yourself of my ‘counsels’ and my ‘position,’ as doubtful of the meaning you intended to convey by my ‘influence and assistance.’ Hope however led me to the interpretation of concluding that—as might be expected from one of your admirable, indeed pre-eminent wisdom—you were anxious that negotiations should be opened on behalf of the tranquillity, peace, and union of our countrymen; for which purpose I could not but reflect that both by my nature and the part I have played I was well enough suited. If this be really the case, and if you feel any desire at all to show due consideration for my friend Pompeius, and bring him into harmony once more both with yourself and with the Republic, you will assuredly find no one better fitted for that task than I am; who have ever given pacific counsels to him, and to the Senate so soon as I found an opportunity. Since the appeal to arms not only have I not taken the smallest part in this war, but have come to the conclusion that by the war a grievous wrong is done to yourself, against whose rightful privileges, granted by special favour of the Roman people, the attacks of the spiteful and jealous were being directed. But just as at that time I not only personally supported your rightful position, but counselled everybody else to lend you their assistance, so now it is the rights of Pompeius for which I am deeply concerned; because it is now several years since I first selected you men as the objects of my most loyal devotion, with whom I would choose to be united, as I now am,

3 in ties of the closest friendship. Consequently I have this request to make—say rather I implore and beseech you with every plea that I can use—even among your weighty anxieties to allot some time to this consideration also, how I may be allowed by your kind indulgence to show myself a man of honour; one in short who is grateful and affectionate from the recollection of the very great kindness he once received. Even if this concerned me alone, I should still flatter myself that to me you would grant it; but in my opinion it equally concerns both your own honour and the public welfare, that I, who am one of a very small number, should still be retained in the best possible position for promoting the harmony of you two and of our fellow-countrymen.

Though I have already thanked you in the matter of Lentulus¹ for being the preserver of a man who had once been mine, yet for my part on reading the letter which he has sent me, written in a spirit of the warmest gratitude for your liberality and kindness, I even pictured myself as owing to you the safety which you have granted to him; and if this shows you that I am of a grateful nature in his case, secure me, I entreat you, some opportunity of showing myself no less so in the case of Pompeius.

LXV. (AD ATT. IX. 12.)

FROM CICERO, PROBABLY AT FORMIAE, TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 20 or 21, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

1 I had finished reading your letter on the 20th, when in comes information from Lepta that Pompeius is under siege, and even the mouths of the harbour blocked with boats; what more, upon my honour, my tears prevent me from either thinking or writing about—I enclose you a copy. Wretches that we are! Why have we not all gone with him to follow his fate to the end? And now here comes the same account

¹ Lentulus Spinther, the consul of 57 B.C., who had greatly helped Cicero's recall in that year (Introd. to Letter xx.), was among those dismissed unhurt by Caesar after the capture of Corfinium. (Introd. to Letter li.)

from Matius and Trebatius, who fell in with Caesar's couriers at Minturnae. Oh ! I am in such tortures of despair that I could even envy that fate of Mucius.¹ Still how honourable, how clear your advice is ! how watchfully it has been thought over ! whether about my route, or my voyage, or an interview and discussion with Caesar—everything is as prudent as it is careful of honour. As to your invitation to Epirus indeed, how kind, how generous, how brotherly it is of you.

I am astounded about Dionysius,² who has shown a most 2 indecent contempt for my reverse—a man who was treated with more respect in my house than even Panaetius was at Scipio's.³ I hate the fellow, and mean to hate him. Would that I could punish him ! but his own character will be his punishment.

Now if ever, I entreat you, consider what I must do. 3 Here is an army of the Roman Republic blockading Pompeius, enclosing him with trench and fosse, cutting him off from escape. Are we yet alive, and is yon city standing ? The praetors administer justice ; the aediles are preparing for the sports ; respectable citizens are booking their profits ; I myself am sitting still ! Ought I to make an attempt like a madman to get where he is ? Or to appeal to the loyalty of the country towns ? The good citizens will not follow ; the worthless ones will mock me ; the revolutionists, particularly now that they are armed and triumphant, will lay hands upon me. What is your opinion therefore ? Have you any prescription in your 4 store for ending this wretched way of living ? Now it is that I feel the pain, now comes the torment ; at the very time when somebody is perhaps thinking that I was either very prudent or very lucky for not having gone too. With me it is the very reverse : I never wanted to be a partaker of his

¹ See Letter liv. § 6 ; and lxviii. note 7.

² This Dionysius, a freedman of Cicero, and tutor to young Marcus and Quintus, is mentioned in Letters xxviii. § 10 ; xliv. § 1. His offence seems only to have been refusing to go with Cicero, who eventually forgave him ; see Letter lxxiv. § 1. Compare Forsyth, 357.

³ The Stoic philosopher Panaetius, author of the work on Moral Obligation on which Cicero's 'De Officiis' is based (Letter cxxii. 4), was introduced to the celebrated literary circle at the house of Scipio Aemilianus, who treated him with distinguished regard.

triumph; far rather had I been one of his adversity. Why should I now entreat your letters, why the support of your prudence and friendliness? All is over; there is nothing now that can possibly help me, who no longer have even anything to wish for—except perchance that from the enemy may come some merciful way of release.

LXVI. (AD ATT. IX. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT FORMIAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 26, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Pompeius having finally escaped from Brundisium, Caesar was now returning to Rome by way of Capua and Sinuessa (*Mondragone*). From the former place he sent the letter here enclosed to Atticus in answer to one from Cicero expressing admiration of his clemency at Corfinium, on which see Introduction to Letter liv., and lviii. § 3.

Abeken, 296; Forsyth, 370.

1 Though I have nothing to write to you about I send this letter that I may leave no day without one. It is reported that Caesar will stop on the 27th at Sinuessa. I now—the 26th—have received a letter from him, wherein this time he ‘hopes to avail himself of my *means* of assistance,’ not merely my ‘assistance,’ as in the previous one.¹ In answer to a letter to express my admiration of the generosity he showed at Corfinium, he replied as follows.

COPY OF CAESAR’S LETTER.

2 You know me too well not to keep up your character as an Augur by divining that nothing is more entirely alien from my nature than cruelty: I will add that while my decision is in itself a great source of pleasure to me, to find my conduct approved by you is a triumph of gratification. Nor does the fact at all disturb me that those people whom I have set at liberty are reported to have gone their ways only to renew

¹ Cicero, playing on the wider meaning of *opes* in the plural than in the singular, insinuates that Caesar wanted money this time. For the juggle of words Caesar of course is not responsible.

the attack upon me;² because there is nothing I wish more than that I may ever be as true to my own character as they to theirs.

May I hope that you will be near town when I am there, so that I may as usual avail myself in everything of your advice and means of assistance? Let me assure you that I am charmed beyond everything with your relation Dolabella, to whom I shall acknowledge myself indeed indebted for this obligation; for his kindness is so great, and his feeling and affection for me are such, that he cannot possibly do otherwise.

LXVII. (AD ATT. IX. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ARPINUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 29, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

On the 28th Caesar arrived at Formiae from Sinuessa, and had the interview with Cicero here described, which produced no decisive understanding. ‘The reader cannot but observe from this letter how much our author’s style is influenced by his situation. He speaks as one out of breath after a terrible fright, in half-broken, short sentences.’ (Guthrie’s Epistles to Atticus.) It may therefore have been written on the evening of the 28th, but more probably not till the 29th, since after the interview Cicero left for Arpinum, Caesar for Pedum, a town lying between Tibur and Praeneste.

Merivale, ii. 166; Long, v. 38; Abeken, 297; Forsyth, 370, 371

As you advised in both respects; in the first place my language was calculated rather to make him respect than be grateful to me, and in the second I stuck to my point—no going to town. Where I was deceived was in having expected to find him yielding: I have never seen anything less so. My decision, says he, is a censure on himself, and the others will be more inclined to hang back if I have refused to come; I reply that their case is not the same. After much of this, ‘Well, come then and propose a peaceful settlement.’ ‘And,’ say I, ‘with full discretion?’ ‘Am I,’ says he, ‘to dictate to you?’ ‘This,’ say I, ‘is what I shall propose: that in the

² This alludes to Domitius, who on his release from Corfinium proceeded to occupy Massilia, and made there a determined resistance to Caesar. See Letter lxii. note 4; and Introd. to lxxvi.

'opinion of the Senate it is inexpedient that you should proceed to Spain, and that troops should be conveyed to Greece; and I shall,' I add, 'fully express my sympathy for Pompeius.' Then he, 'But that I cannot approve of your saying.' 'Just what I was thinking,' say I, 'but the very reason why I do not want to be there is that I must either speak in this way, and about many things which I could not leave unsaid on any terms if I were there, or else not go at all.' In the end, as if he was anxious to quit the discussion, 'Would I then take time to think over it?' This could not be refused. So we parted. I fancy therefore that he is not much in love with me, but I am in love with myself, a feeling to which I have long been a stranger.

2 As for the rest, good heavens, what a following he has!—quite an 'Inferno,' as you are fond of describing it.¹ It contained among others Celer's man Eros!² O the utter villainy—the gang of desperadoes! What do you say to a son of Sulpicius and another of Titinius being actually in an army besieging Pompeius! Six legions! and he is as watchful as he is bold—I see no limit to troubles. Well, now assuredly you must produce your advice; it was agreed that this was
3 the last thing to wait for. Still that *finale* of his—which I had all but omitted—is annoying; that if I would not allow him to avail himself of my advice, he would take that of persons who were available, and condescend to all counsels alike. Have I then really seen the great man, as I had said, and smarted for it? Yes, indeed I have. Give you the sequel? Well, next he to his house at Pedum, I to Arpinum; then

¹ See Letter Ixiii., note 4.

² This is the commonest reading, 'Eros Celeri' or 'Celeris' (probably some freedman of Metellus Celer), which requires indeed no alteration of the text, but then the allusion remains absolutely obscure. The corrections proposed are almost infinite, but none of them carry conviction. Hofmann suggests *in qua erat area sceleris* (= 'in what an arena of crime was he moving,' and this, with the substitution of *scelerum*, is adopted without comment by Mr. Parry. Koch proposes *in qua erant mera scelerata*, to which Boot inclines; and Peerlkamp *quaer cohors scelerum*. Others suspect the corruption of a Greek word: Gronovius suggests *in qua erat ἔρως* (= *cupiditas*) *scelerum*; Kayser, *κέπας* (= *cornu copiae*) *scelerum*; Hermann, with elaborate ingenuity, *in qua ego Teipestias*; Orelli, *in qua erat ἐφεσχελη* (= *railery*); Profs. Tyrrell and Purser, *Oferas*, *ῳ λῆποι*.

after this I for my part am on the look-out for the *praenuntia veris hirundo* spoken of in your letter.³ Come, plague on it! you will say, no more flogging of the dead horse. Yet even the great man we follow made many mistakes. But I am expecting your letter, for your 'let us wait and see how this will turn out' is no longer any good. This meeting of ours was to be the final thing; and as I doubt not that I have by it offended our friend we must act all the more promptly. And you love me, a letter—*politiquant* too; I am so anxiously looking now for what you will have to say.

LXVIII. (AD ATT. X. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT HIS BROTHER'S HOUSE, LATERIUM, NEAR ARPINUM, TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 3, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Caesar arrived at Rome on the 1st of April, and by means of an obsolete privilege of the tribunes in the absence of the consuls proceeded at once to convene a Senate. A sufficient number of members were in the capital to form a quorum, but nearly all the nobler and more influential ones were to be found in the so-called 'Three Hundred' of the emigrants, at the 'Roman Coblenz,' as Mommsen calls it, of Thessalonica, by whom the 'Caesarean Senate of nobodies' was invariably regarded as having no legal status whatever.

Caesar's next step was to seize the public treasure stored in the vaults of the temple of Saturn, which, by an almost incredible oversight, had been left behind by the Pompeians in their hasty flight (Letter xlvi. Introd.) A tribune, Lucius Caecilius Metellus, attempted to bar the way, and either was arrested, or, as Lucan (Phars. iii. 144) describes it, gave way to threats.

³ The reading of the Medicean MS. is ΛΑΛΑΓΕΑΝ, for which Bosius cleverly introduced λαλαγεῦσαν, 'twittering,' from Att. x. 2; and this Mr. Watson takes (*sc. epistulam*) as meaning 'a letter warning me to start in spring with the swallows.' I formerly suggested that on this view it would be better to take it as descriptive of the chattiness (*babilage*) so often mentioned as characteristic of Atticus. But a comparison of the three passages concerned proves, I think, that it must mean not a letter but the swallow itself. Att. ix. 7. 5, written only a fortnight before, proves that Atticus did quote (*illam tuam*) the epigram of Leonidas (Anth. Pal. x. 1):

οὐ πλοῖς ὥραιος, καὶ γάρ λαλαγεῖστα χειμῶν
ἥδη μέμβλωκεν, χώ χαριεῖς Ζέφυρος :

while in Att. x. 2, written only a week later, Cicero says λαλαγεῦσα iam adest, 'The twitterer is here, and I am all agog to be off.' He was a very bad sailor (Introd. to Letter lxxi.) and would not start till spring was well in.

This was undoubtedly a measure to Caesar of extreme necessity, or he would not thus have risked the character he had steadily maintained by his scrupulous avoidance of all confiscations. (Letter lxxi. § 6.) Leaving his ablest officers in charge of the corn-provinces (see Letter lxxiv.), and the praetor Lepidus to govern the capital, he himself now hastened across the Alps and Pyrenees to crush the left wing of the Pompeians in Spain.

Mommsen, iv. 378-399; Merivale, ii. 164-170; Long, v. ch. 4.

The last section of this letter is sometimes thought to be a distinct one, which has become confused in the MSS. Compare Letter lv., where also this is probably the case. The section is at all events extremely obscure, and the text in a corrupt state.

1 I have found your letter on my arrival here at my brother's estate of Laterium on the 3rd, and drawn breath again a little; which I have not had a chance of doing before since this catastrophe came; for it is of the last importance in my eyes that you should approve of my firmness of demeanour and the step I have taken. When therefore you tell me that I have the approval of our dear Pedaecus I am so delighted that I could fancy myself strengthened also by the calm judgment of his father, for whom I always had as high respect as for any one man in the world. I still often call to mind how he once said to me—it was on *the 5th of December*¹—in answer to my ‘Sextus, which way is it to be?’ ‘Nay,’ said he,

‘Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae,
Quosque ideo consul virtute animoque petisti,
Hos retine, atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.’²

His authority therefore still lives on with me, and the son has to my mind no less weight than the father, whose image he is, once possessed. Will you remember me to him most sincerely?

Although it is not for any very long time that you postpone your advice—for I suppose that by this time that hired peace-monger³ has already made his peroration, and that something has been done in this caucus of senators (a Senate

¹ The day on which Catilina's associates were strangled. See Introd. to Letter iii., and compare xxix. § 12.

² These lines quoted Att. ii. 3, from his own poem on his consulship, may perhaps be considered sufficiently parallel to the dying words of Hector (Il. xxii. 304, 305) here quoted by Cicero. They may be rendered more literally—

‘Let me not weakling nor unknown expire,
But some deed done that ages shall admire.’

³ Boot and others refer this to Curio, but Mr. Watson suggests that Lepidus, the future triumvir, may be meant. See Letter lxii., note 6. The same person is called *iste nummarius*, § 3.

it is not, in my opinion),—nevertheless you are keeping me in great suspense about it, somewhat lessened however by the fact that I have no doubt what you will think I must do. For when you tell me that Flavius⁴ has the offer of Sicily, and a legion with it, and that this is already being carried out, how can you but assume that some of their wicked schemes are now being planned and thought over, while others will come up as circumstances suggest? As for myself, I shall disregard the law laid down by your great townsman Solon—I fancy I might even call him mine,—who made it a capital crime for any one to have been neutral in a revolution,⁵ and unless your opinion is against me I shall keep out of both one side and the other; though I can say so more positively about one of the two. I shall not however make a premature move; I mean to wait for your decision, and for the letter which—unless you have already sent one off—I wrote that you were to give to Cephalio.

As to your saying in your letter, apparently not as though 3 you had heard it from some other quarter, but as an idea which occurred to you, that the attraction thither will be too much for me if the question of peace is discussed, I myself can see no possibility that any question of peace will be raised at all, since he is absolutely determined, if he has the power, to deprive Pompeius of his army and of his provincial government; unless by any chance our well-paid friend can persuade him to remain passive while delegates are going to and fro. I see nothing left for me to hope for, or even at the present time to conceive as possible. But even to entertain the idea would show that a man was right-minded? Well, it is a great question, and quite one of the problems of *la haute politique*, whether if a tyrant means to consider the proposition of doing some virtuous act, one is bound to be a member of his cabinet.⁶

⁴ Flavius was the person who when tribune had actually imprisoned the consul Metellus for resisting an Agrarian law. (See Letter ix. § 8.) Sicily was not however assigned to him, but to Curio. (See Letter lxxiv.)

⁵ Grote's Greece, part ii. ch. 11. It was 'capital' only in the sense of involving total loss of one's rights as a citizen.

⁶ *Consilium* is, I think, here used in its concrete sense of 'a *select deliberative body*.' (See Conington on Aen. ii. 89.) If it had been abstract, *tyranni* would probably have been put in the dative.

Consequently, supposing it to have so come about that I am sent for—to which I for my part am indifferent, because I have already told him, to his own great disgust, what I was likely to say on the question of peace—however, supposing something of the kind to have happened, be sure that you write and tell me what you think I ought to do; for nothing as yet has occurred to me which would seem to require more careful deliberation. I am very glad you were pleased with the expressions of Trebatius, a good man and a good citizen, and your repeated ‘*bravos*’ and ‘*bravissimos*’ are the sole pleasure I have had hitherto. I am eagerly expecting your letter, which indeed has already, I suppose, been despatched.

You, like Peducaeus, have maintained that dignity of demeanour which you would impress upon me. Your man Celer is more clever than sensible. All that you have heard about the lads from Tullia is quite true. The circumstance⁷ you mention seems to me to be not so bad in reality as it sounds: this *embrouillement* of everything round us is to me as the shadow of death; for it was my duty either to make an independent *coup* here among the bad, or be, at any cost of danger, among the good. Let us either follow the rash venture of good citizens, or run a tilt against the audacity of the reckless. Both courses have their dangers, while this which we are pursuing is discreditable, and yet not safe.

I think that the gentleman who sent his son to Brundisium in the interests of peace⁸ (and talking of peace, I entirely agree with you that while they make outward pretences of it

⁷ ‘*Maconi*’ is generally supposed to represent some Greek word, a fertile source of corruption in the MSS. Orelli proposes ἐνδόμυχον = the family secret (see Letter xxxvi. § 14); Boot φάρμακον = some violent remedy; Tyrrell and Purser μηκώνιον, ‘that drowsy syrup,’ = a state of apathy. But I believe Dr. Reid’s suggestion, *Mucianum*, in ‘Hermathena’ for 1901, to be right, referring it to the fate of Q. Mucius Scaevola under Marius (Att. ix. 15. 2). The whole passage hints at death as the best escape from troubles.

⁸ It is possible, as Boot thinks, that the first *de pace* has simply crept in from the error of a copyist. Supposing it to be retained, there is the further difficulty of deciding whether it is used seriously or ironically. It must be the latter if Servius Sulpicius is the person referred to, because his son (Letter lxvii. § 2) was actually serving in Caesar’s army. Manutius suggests that the elder Balbus is the person meant, but in that case *filius* must be used of his nephew. The point indeed it is now impossible satisfactorily to clear up.

the war is being vigorously pushed forward) will, and that I shall not, be sent as their envoy,⁹ seeing that, as I hoped, nobody has hitherto mentioned me at all. This makes it not so imperative on me to write or even to reflect beforehand what I should do if circumstances hereafter have so brought it about that I am made an ambassador.

LXIX. (AD FAM. VIII. 16.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT INTIMELIUM TO CICERO
AT ARPINUM OR CUMAE.

About mid-April, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

For an account of Caelius see Introd. to Letter xxxiii. The letter of Cicero to which this is an answer, hinting at his probable departure to join Pompeius, has not been preserved. But Caelius had now changed his never very permanent views, and believed in the superiority of Caesar. He therefore writes to dissuade Cicero from his purpose, working on his fears by describing Caesar's resentment, and laying particular stress on the importance of the war in Spain, where he believed that success would be decisive of the whole struggle. Cicero in his answer thinks it prudent to deny that he ever hinted at any such intention. On the subsequent fate of Caelius see Introd. to Letter lxxvi.

Caesar left Rome for Spain in the beginning of April. This letter seems to have been written from camp, at Intimelium (*Ventimiglia*). Compare with it the letters of Antonius and Caesar himself (lxxii. and lxxiii.).

Abeken, 300; Forsyth, 373.

Alarmed beyond measure at your letter, which shows me **1** that your thoughts are bent only on some unhappy step, and does not explicitly state what that is,—and yet it was impossible for you not to disclose the nature of your design,—I lose not a moment in writing you these lines. For your own welfare, my dear Cicero,—for your children's sake—I implore and beseech you not to take any step which must injuriously

⁹ For this peculiar construction (if the text be sound), which understands an affirmative in the former of two clauses from a negative in the latter, compare the well-known *venena magnum fas nefasque non valent Convertere humanam vicem* (Hor. Epod. v. 87), according to the interpretation of Lambinus, which is now generally accepted; *i.e.* *venena valent fas nefasque, non valent humanam vicem convertere*. Lambinus quotes this passage as a parallel for his view. A similar construction occurs in Tacitus, Ann. xii. 64; xiii. 56; Cic. De Fin. i. 2.

affect your safe position and immunity from danger. For I call heaven and earth and the friendship there is between us to witness that I warned you beforehand, and did not give you any needless caution; but that no sooner did I have an interview with Caesar, and ascertain with regard to his views, what they were likely to be when the victory was won, than I gave you full information. If you imagine that Caesar's policy will continue as it is now—letting his antagonists go free, and offering them terms of peace—you are mistaken. His thoughts and even his expressions show nothing but severity and cruelty; he is gone away in a rage with the Senate; he is distinctly stung by all this interference of the tribunes; by Heaven,
3 there will be no room left for entreaties. Therefore if you have any regard for yourself—if for your only son—for your family—for your hopes of the future; if I and your excellent son-in-law have any influence at all with you—for you surely do not wish so to break up our fortunes as to drive us into hating or abandoning that cause, the triumph of which is our only safety, or into entertaining unnatural hopes which are inconsistent with your safety—then in short you will consider this, that whatever odium may have been involved in your hesitation you have already incurred: to declare against the triumphant Caesar now, whom you were reluctant to injure while his success was doubtful, and join a party of beaten men whom you were reluctant to follow while they could still show fight—why, this is for you the very height of folly. Mind that while ashamed of seeming to care too little for the cause of the nobles, you be not too little careful about choosing that course which is really noble.

3 If however I cannot entirely convince you, at any rate wait while we are getting information how we are doing in the Spanish Provinces: and those I am able to report will be ours on Caesar's arrival there. What your friends have to hope for when both parts of Spain are gone I know not; moreover, upon my honour I fail to discover what is your ultimate object
4 in going to join men whose case is desperate. This purpose, which you intimated to me sufficiently, if not by an explicit statement, had already come to the ears of Caesar; and the very first thing he did after greeting me was to state what he

had heard about you. I denied any knowledge of it ; but I begged him all the same to write to you in such a way as you would be most likely to consider an additional motive towards staying. I myself have to go with him into Spain ; or else before going to town I would have instantly come to you wherever you were, and pleaded with you to your face for this ; indeed I would have exerted all the force I possessed to keep you back. Again and again, my dear Cicero, reflect, lest you ⁵ utterly ruin yourself and those who love you ; lest deliberately and with your eyes open you let yourself into a position whence, as you can see, there is no means of escape. But if either the clamour of the aristocrats influences you, or you cannot abide the insolence and swagger of some of these fellows, my advice is that you should choose some town which is clear of the war, while these issues, which will be decided immediately, are being fought out. Do that, and then not only shall I consider you to have acted with discretion, but you will be giving no offence to Caesar.

LXX. (AD FAM. II. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT ARPINUM OR CUMAE TO MARCUS CAELIUS
RUFUS ON THE MARCH FOR SPAIN.

(*An answer to the preceding letter.*)

End of April, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Your letter would have caused me great distress, had not ¹ both reason itself now banished all my disquietudes, and my heart become callous to any new pang from the weariness of utter despair. Nevertheless, how it can have happened that my previous letter gave you any cause for suspecting what you mention I do not understand ; what indeed did it contain beyond lamentations of these evil days, which if they keep my mind on the rack affect your own no less ? For I know the keen edge of your penetration too well to imagine that you are blind to what I see myself : what I wonder at is rather that you, who ought to know me below the surface, could be

induced to believe that I am either so reckless as to desert a star in its zenith for one that is sinking and all but gone ; or else so flighty as to throw away my whole stock of favour with a man who is now in the full flush of success, voluntarily be untrue to myself, and do what from the very first I have throughout avoided, namely mix myself up in a civil war.

2 What therefore is this ‘unhappy resolution’ of mine ? Can it be that of retiring to some solitary spot ? For you can appreciate—you once used to feel like me yourself—not only how my gorge rises in anger, but also how my very eyes loathe to see the scandal of these upstarts in place. Besides, there is my embarrassing train of attendants, and the military title by which I am still addressed : were I but free from the burden of this honour I could be content with a hiding-place, however humble, in Italy. But these laurels of mine not only attract the eyes, but now even excite the cries¹ of my ill-wishers. Yet this being the case, I have never once entertained the idea of leaving Italy, except with the approval of you all. But you know that I have estates, such as they are, in the country : I am obliged to stay in these, that I may not be a burden to my friends. Because however I find those by the sea-side the easiest to pass the time in, I give rise in some people to a suspicion that I want to take ship ; to which perhaps, it is true, I should not be disinclined if that could be a voyage to peace. Being as it is to nothing but war, where is the advantage ? particularly to fight against one man who is, I hope, satisfied with my conduct, in the interests of another who now cannot possibly ever be satisfied.

3 Then again you have had the best opportunities for knowing my sentiments ever since that occasion when we met at my house at Cumae ; for I made no secret to you of my conversation with Balbus. You saw how averse I was, when I was told about it, to any abandonment of the capital. Did I not solemnly declare to you that I would suffer anything in the world rather than go to a civil war out of Italy ? What then has happened that could make me change my purpose ? Has not everything on the contrary tended to confirm me in

¹ Evidently there is a weak play of words in *oculos* and *voculas*.

my views? I trust you will believe this, which is, I think, your opinion of me already, that in all these troubles I have had no other aim than to make people see at last that my choice before anything else was peace: if this was not to be thought of, my abhorrence beyond anything else was civil war. Of my steadfastness in this I think I shall never in the end have to repent. Indeed I well remember that it was a point our dear friend Hortensius used to pride himself upon, that he had never taken part in the Civil War. In this respect my glory will be brighter than his, because in his case it was attributed to want of resolution; a supposition that cannot, I think, be held about me.

Nor are my fears excited by such considerations as you—⁴ most honestly and affectionately—put forward to arouse them; because there is no trouble so bitter but it seems to be hanging over us all now in this universal ruin. From this indeed I would most cheerfully have redeemed our country at the price of some suffering to me and mine; even of all that you bid me have a care for. As to my son, who I rejoice to find is ⁵ dear to you, if the State in any form is to survive, I shall leave him a patrimony enough and to spare in the memory of my name; if however this is not to be, his lot will be no exceptional one among his fellow-countrymen. For when you ask me to have some regard for my own son-in-law—an excellent young man, who is moreover very dear to me—since you know how much both he and even more my Tullia are to me, can you possibly doubt that this is the very care which causes me the most distracting anxiety? And I feel it the more because in our common wretchedness I used to cheer myself at least with this gleam of hope, that the Dolabella for whom I, and indeed both of us, have so much regard would be set free from those straits in which his openhandedness had involved him. I should like you to make some inquiry what sort of days he was forced to spend while he was in town—how bitter they were to himself; how far from creditable even to me as his father-in-law.

Consequently I am neither waiting for the coming event in ⁶ Spain,—about which I am thoroughly satisfied it will be as you say,—nor thinking craftily over any plan at all. If this

is ever to be a settled country, surely some place in it will be found for me; if however this is not to be, you yourself, I suspect, will come to the same solitary spot where you shall hear that I have settled. But perhaps I am only a prophet of evil, and all these things will have a happier ending; for I recollect the despairing fits of those who were old people when I was young; possibly I am now imitating them, and giving way to the foible of age. I trust it may be so; but still—!

7 I suppose you have heard that a magistrate's robe is already on the loom for Oppius; for as to our good friend Curtius he has his eye on the double colours; but *the person from whom he takes his colour* is keeping him waiting.² This by way of seasoning, so that you may know that even amid my indignation I keep up the habit of laughing.

As to Dolabella, I recommend you to look to what I said, just as if your own interests were concerned. I will end with this: I mean to do nothing defiantly, nothing rashly; I entreat you however, in whatever land my lot is to be cast, to extend the protection to me and my children to which our friendship and your honour will give us a claim.

LXXI. (AD ATT. X. 8.)

FROM CICERO AT CUMAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

May 2, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

In this letter are enclosed the two which follow from Antonius and Caesar, warning Cicero against joining Pompeius in much the same spirit as Caelius had done (Letter lxix.) To Antonius Cicero replied that he had no intention of opposing Caesar, but thought of leaving Italy owing to the inconvenience caused by the parade of his attendants, whom he still retained with a faint hope of a triumph. Antonius answered briefly that no neutral could be allowed to leave Italy without the express permission of Caesar, but that this would probably be granted on application. Cicero remained therefore in his villa at Cumae for about two months, waiting not only for fair weather (he was a very bad sailor), but for a safe opportunity of leaving Italy without being arrested.

² The 'double colours' are the *trabea*, or robe of an Augur, which was of purple and saffron. *Insector*, by which Caesar is meant, plays on the ambiguous meaning of the word *inficio*, which signifies to corrupt as well as to dye. It contains therefore a sneer—apparently undeserved—at Oppius and Curtius as if they were bribed by offers of place.

Meanwhile everybody was anxiously expecting the result of the war in Spain.
See Introd. to Letter lxxvi.

Merivale, ii. 220; Abeken, 300; Forsyth, 373-375; Froude, Caesar, 419.

Not only did circumstances suggest, but you had already **1** pointed out, and I myself was conscious, that it was time to put a stop to our correspondence on such topics as it might be dangerous to have intercepted; but seeing that my daughter is perpetually writing to me to entreat that I will wait for the issue of events in Spain, and invariably adds that your opinion agrees with hers—as indeed I have myself perceived from your letters—I do not think it is out of place to write to you about my views on that question.

It seems to me that this advice of yours would be the **2** prudent one on the supposition that I intended to shape my plans by the turn which fortune takes in Spain; which is impossible. It surely must necessarily be the case that either—as I should most like to see—the individual in question is driven out of Spain; or the war there is protracted; or else that person must make himself master (as he seems to be confident of doing) of the two Provinces. Say that he will be driven out. Very welcome or very honourable my joining Pompeius would be then at a time when I should think that Curio himself would be preparing to desert to his standard! Say then that the war is protracted: what event am I to wait for, and for how long? The remaining alternative is that I should quietly submit if we are beaten in Spain. I myself think just the opposite; I hold that such a person is even more to be separated from in his day of triumph than of defeat, and when he is doubtful rather than when in the confidence of success. For whenever he has become the conqueror, I look for a proscription, a raid upon private property, a recall of exiles, a clean sweep of debts,¹ places given to the vilest of creatures, and a tyranny that hardly any Oriental would put up with, let alone a born Roman. Will my indignation then **3** be able to refrain from words? Will my eyes be able to

¹ Compare Letter xlvii. § 1, where the corresponding Greek phrases are employed instead. This is a crucial passage therefore to show that Cicero did *not*, as is often asserted, use Greek words only where there was no exact equivalent in Latin. See further in the Preface to this book.

endure a vision of myself expressing my opinion side by side with Gabinius—of his even being asked before mine²—or of your dependent Clodius,³ Ateius's Plaguleius, and the rest of them looking on? But why string together a list of my enemies when I cannot even see acquaintances whom I have formerly defended sitting in the Senate House or mix among them without degradation? What if even this is by no means certain, that they will give me the opportunity of doing so? for some of his friends write me word that he most decidedly does not think I have treated him fairly, by not having put in an appearance in the Senate. Am I then all the same to hesitate about selling myself at certain risk to a man with whom I did not wish even with assured advantage to be allied?

⁴ Then moreover notice this, that the final decision of the contest is not entirely in the Spanish Provinces, unless indeed you think that when they are lost Pompeius will throw down his arms; whereas his policy is entirely Themistoclean; for he holds that whoever is master of the sea, that is the man who must of necessity gain the supremacy.⁴ Accordingly he has never made it a point to keep a hold over Spain for its own sake; his first care has always been to keep the naval force well supplied. Whenever the time shall come therefore he will sail with an enormous fleet and come to the shores of Italy; and if I am idly waiting there, what am I to be? for there will be no more license given to neutrals. Shall I then take part against him [and his fleet]? Could there be any greater crime—could any indeed be so great? What lower depth of disgrace is left? Shall I, who all alone here have stoutly endured his criminal behaviour to my absent friends, refuse to endure it from the same hand when I am with Pompeius and all our other foremost men?⁵ Whereas if I am now to let

² See Letter vi. note 7.

³ This is supposed to be the Sextus Clodius, a freedman of Publius, mentioned in Letter cix., but it is not known that he had anything to do directly with Atticus. It may, however, refer instead to the rhetorician of Letter xxviii.

⁴ This alludes to the famous interpretation put by Themistocles upon the 'wooden walls' which were counselled by the Delphic Oracle. Herodotus, vii. 143, 144; Grote, part ii. ch. 39.

⁵ The whole of this passage is very corrupt, and the translation here given is simply an attempt to render as closely as possible the text which Mr. Watson

duty go, and calculate the risk, there is danger from that party if I prove to have done what is wrong, from this man if my action is right, nor can any conceivable line of conduct in these troubles be found which will be void of risk ; so that I have now no scruple in avoiding a [discreditable] course when it is accompanied by danger, which I should naturally avoid even were it accompanied by safety. But I did not cross over with Pompeius ? That was absolutely out of my power ; the dates are there for anybody to calculate. But still—let me confess the truth—I did not even try very hard to make it possible. The circumstance which deceived me—perhaps it ought not to have deceived me, but still it did—is that I thought they would come to terms ; and, if that was to be so, I did not want to have Caesar embittered against me when he was at the same time on friendly terms with Pompeius : because I knew by experience what birds of a feather they were.⁶ It was this fear which led me into the snare of procrastination. But if I make haste now I regain all ; if I delay I lose it.

Yet even so, my dear Atticus, there are some auguries too ⁶ which inspire me with no uncertain hope—not such as our college has dealt in since the days of Attus,⁷ but the famous words of Plato about tyrants ;⁸ for I do not see any conceivable way by which that individual can stand much longer, without falling of himself, even though we should be too indolent to move ; when you consider that, in spite of all his great successes, and with the advantage of novelty, he has in

has adopted. The only correction indeed that this text absolutely requires grammatically is to supply an antecedent to *eiusdem*. Perhaps *cuius* should be read for *qui*. Some of the readings proposed for the first few words, which are unintelligible in the Medicean MS., may be here added. '*An qui invalidi et absentis*' (Schätz). '*An invadentis in absentes*' (Hofmann). '*An qui alide huic obstans eius*' (Kayser). '*An iram huius amentis*' (Boot).

⁶ Billerbeck explains this as meaning the same as they were at the time of Cicero's exile, and Mr. Watson says that this is supported by Letter xxv. § 1. But surely the addition in the latter place of *qui fuerant* makes all the difference. And *enim* seems to give the reason for saying *amicus Pompeio*.

⁷ Attus Navius was the well-known Augur who divided Tarquinius's whetstone with the razor.—Livy, i. 36.

⁸ Plato, Republic, viii. pp. 562 foll. 'He who is the real tyrant, whatever men may think, is the real slave. . . . All his life long he is beset with fears and distractions.' Cf. also Cicero, De Rep. i. 66.

a week or so incurred the bitterest hatred, even from that hungry and desperate rabble: that in that short space of time he has forfeited two of the pretensions to which he lays claim; to gentle dealing, in the case of Metellus, and to ample resources, in that of the Treasury.⁹ Now what associates, or subordinates if you like, is he to have in his work, if these personages are to be made kings in the provinces—if they are to be kings even in the Republic,—not one of whom has been able as yet to keep his own estate in hand for so much as ⁷ a couple of months? It is not for me here to put down in detail all the facts through which you can see with such acuteness: do you merely put them well before your eyes, and you will at once perceive that his royalty can hardly be a matter of even six months.

If however I am deceived here I shall bear it, as many of the most eminent public men have borne it before: unless indeed you have quite made up your mind that I should prefer a death such as was the lot of Sardanapalus [on his own bed at home¹⁰] to one in the exile of Themistocles; who though he had shown himself, as Thucydides says,¹¹ ‘at once the ablest judge of the present, and that upon the most limited deliberation, and also the best forecaster of coming events into the most distant

⁹ See Introd. to Letter lxviii.

¹⁰ The words *in suo lectulo* are put in brackets by Boot and Mr. Watson as being probably a marginal gloss upon *mori*, inappropriately introduced from Ad Att. x. 14, 3, or Letter lxxxvii. § 2; and perhaps they are right. But the words in themselves present no difficulty; *suo* (for which Wesenberg reads *meo*) being used as though a participle, such as *extincti*, followed, and Sardanapalus being the governing subject of the separate thought. After a long and determined defence of Nineveh, when further resistance became impossible, Sardanapalus placed his wives and his treasures (including rich couches, according to Ctesias, and this possibly suggested the word), upon a funeral pyre, and perished with them. Cicero might thus be said to resemble Sardanapalus if he determined to die where his life had been passed, amid the old surroundings. The diminutive *lectulo* seems to give this suggestion of familiarity and affection. The general argument is: ‘If I am mistaken in believing that Caesar’s power will rapidly fall I shall have to go into exile like Themistocles—a well-known instance of an acute intelligence entirely mistaken in his forecast,—unless you think that I should prefer like Sardanapalus at any cost to die at home.’

¹¹ Thuc. i. 136-138. Cicero is evidently quoting from memory, since the passage is not quite accurately repeated. Themistocles promised Artaxerxes that all Greece should be brought into subjection to the Persian crown.

depths of the future,' fell nevertheless into such misfortunes as he must have kept clear of if nothing had deceived him. Though he was one who (as the same author tells us) '*most of all men used to discern the better and the worse when yet wrapped in obscurity,*' he none the less failed to see how he would have to flee from the jealousy of the Spartans, or how again from that of his own countrymen, or what promises he would hereafter be brought to make to Artaxerxes. That night had not been so untimely to Scipio Africanus,¹² one of the wisest of men, nor Sulla's day so disastrous to Marius, one of the shrewdest, had neither one nor the other ever been deceived.

Nevertheless I can support my view by the saying of the great prophet whom I have quoted: I am not deceived, nor will there be a different ending. It is absolutely certain that he will fall, whether it be through his enemies, or simply through his own means, he being indeed his own one irreconcilable enemy: what I hope for is that this will come to pass before I die. Yet it is time for me to be thinking now of that endless life which is to come, not of this brief one here. But should anything befall me before that time is ripe, it surely will not have made much difference to me whether I am to see it done, or have already seen from afar that it will come to pass. And this being so, I cannot stoop to receive orders from those against whom the Senate armed me with powers to see 'that the State come to no harm.'¹³

To you all that I have has been already commended, though indeed your love for me makes it needless to commend it. Nor, upon my word, do I see anything to write about, because I am simply sitting on the watch '*pour que le vent soit propice*': though indeed I never before felt so bound to write about anything as to tell you that among the innumerable pleasant things you have done I never felt anything more gratefully than the extremely tender and careful way in which you have watched

¹² See Letter xxiii. note 8.

¹³ This was the celebrated formula by which in extreme cases the Senate conferred absolute powers upon magistrates. A decree of this kind was hastily passed on the reception of the ultimatum of Caesar (Introd. to Letter xlvi.), calling on all consuls, ex-consuls, and other magistrates, to do their duty. Mommsen, iv. 359; Merivale, ii. 122.

over my dearest Tullia. She herself is perfectly charmed with it ; nor do I feel it any less strongly. And indeed her courage is astonishing. How well she bears up against the national disasters—how well against her worries at home ! Then what spirit she shows about my going away ! Though hers is no mere *tendresse*, but the perfect *fusion d'âme* of love, yet her wish is that I should do what is right, and have the good word of all. But of this subject too much already, for fear I now awake in myself the *pitié de soi-même*.

You will be sure to write me anything you hear which is comparatively certain about the Spanish Provinces, and whatever else there may be while I am still here, and possibly when I go I shall send you something ; all the more for this reason, that Tullia fancies under present circumstances you will not be away from Italy. I must represent to Antonius too, as well as Curio, that my wish is to stay at Malta, by no means to take any part at all in this war. I only hope I may find him as good and obliging to me as Curio was. He was said to be coming to Misenum on the 2nd, that is to-day, but he has sent me beforehand an annoying letter, of which I enclose a copy.

LXXII. (AD ATT. X. 8 A.)

FROM MARCUS ANTONIUS AT ROME (?) TO CICERO AT CUMAE.

(Letter enclosed in the preceding one.)

May 1 (?), 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

1 But that I have a strong affection for you—much greater indeed than you suppose—I should not have been greatly alarmed at the rumour which has been published about you, particularly as I took it to be a false one : but my liking for you is far too great to allow me to pretend that even the report, however false, is not to me a matter of great concern. That you will really go across seas I cannot believe when I think of the deep regard you entertain for Dolabella and his admirable wife, your daughter Tullia, and of the equal regard in which you yourself are held by us all, to whom, upon my

word and honour, your name and position are perhaps dearer than they are to yourself. Nevertheless I did not think myself at liberty as a friend to be indifferent to the remarks even of unscrupulous people ; and I have been the more eager to act because I hold that the part I have to play has been made more difficult by the coolness between us, which originated more in jealousy on my part than in any injury on yours. For I beg you will thoroughly assure yourself of this, that there is no one for whom my affection is greater than for yourself, with the exception of my dear friend Caesar ; and that among Caesar's most honoured friends a place is reserved for Marcus Cicero.

Therefore, my dear Cicero, I entreat you to keep your ² future action entirely open : reject the spurious honour of a man who did you a great wrong that he might afterwards lay you under an obligation : do not, on the other hand, fly from one who, even if he shall lose his love for you—and that can never be the case—will none the less make it his study that you should be secure and rich in honours. I have been careful to send Calpurnius, who is my most intimate friend, to you, to let you know that your life and high position are to me a matter of deep concern.

On the same day Philotimus brought a letter from Caesar, of which this is a copy.

LXXIII. (AD ATT. X. 8 B.)

FROM CAESAR AT INTIMELIUM TO CICERO AT CUMAE.

(*Enclosed in Letter LXXI.*)

April 16, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

Though I had fully made up my mind that you would ¹ do nothing rashly, nothing imprudently, still I was so far impressed by the rumours in some quarters as to think it my duty to write to you, and ask it as a favour due to our mutual regard that you will not take any step, now that the scale is so decisively turned, which you would not have

thought it necessary to take even though the balance still stood firm. For it will really be both a heavier blow to our friendship, and a step on your part still less judicious for yourself, if you are to be thought not even to have bowed the knee to success—for things seem to have fallen out as entirely favourably for us as disastrously for them,—nor yet to have been drawn by attachment to a particular cause—for that has undergone no change since you decided to remain aloof from their counsels,—but to have passed a stern judgment on some act of mine, than which, from you, no more painful thing could befall me; and I claim the right of our friendship to entreat that you will not take this course.

2 Finally, what more suitable part is there for a good, peace-loving man, and good citizen, than to keep aloof from civil dissensions? There were not a few who admired this course, but could not adopt it by reason of its danger: you, after having duly weighed both the conclusions of friendship and the unmistakable evidence of my whole life, will find that there is no safer nor more honourable course than to keep entirely aloof from the struggle.

I am writing this while on the march, April 16.

LXXIV. (AD ATT. X. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT CUMAE TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

May 14, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

One of Caesar's first objects on his departure for Spain was to secure the corn provinces, and so render ineffectual the savage threat of the Pompeians to reduce Italy by famine. Pompeius had given Sardinia in charge to Marcus Aurelius Cotta, and Sicily to Cato, but by another striking blunder both were provided with inadequate forces. To the former Caesar sent Quintus Valerius, who was soon successful in taking the island; the latter was assigned to Curio, who had succeeded to the position of Labienus, with no less than four legions. Cato with honourable and characteristic independence refused to sacrifice lives in making a hopeless defence, and left Sicily without striking a blow. Cicero's judgment on his supposed pusillanimity is not only undeserved, but, as Dean Merivale says, 'formed with the utmost levity.' It was enough that Cato had opposed a thanksgiving for Cicero's own successes. (Introd. to Letter xxxix.) From Sicily Curio proceeded to Africa with two legions, and was at first so far successful as to besiege the great city of Utica, but it being

relieved by Iuba, King of Numidia, Curio's army was destroyed, and he himself perished.

From Cumae Cicero moved to Pompeii, to divert the suspicion of his intended voyage. While there he received overtures from three cohorts to strike a blow in the interest of Pompeius, but suspecting some trap he prudently enough declined, and returned to Cumae. Abeken erroneously asserts that he remained at Pompeii until he left Italy.

Mommisen, iv. 390-394; Merivale, ii. 212-222; Abeken, 300-302; Forsyth, 374-375; Froude, Caesar, p. 422.

As to Dionysius, see Letter lxxv. § 2. This letter is expressly mentioned as having been written when a letter from Atticus arrived on the 14th, Ad Att. x. 17, 1.

I had just sent off a letter to you on various subjects, 1 when, though it was still very good time in the morning, enter Dionysius; whom indeed, so far am I from showing myself implacable to him, I should have entirely forgiven, had he come to me at all in the spirit which you had described. I mean that in the letter which I received at Arpinum you said that he was coming, and 'would do what I wished.' Now it was my wish, or rather my particular desire, that he should stay with me; and it was because he had made such short work of this suggestion, when he came to my house at Formiae, that I used to write to you rather roughly about him. He said very little however, and this is the gist of it all: would I excuse him? private business made it quite impossible for him to go with me! My answer was short. I felt the blow severely: I saw that my present position was to him a subject for contempt. Well, well; perhaps you will be surprised at me: I assure you I look upon this as one of the most painful incidents I have undergone in these times. I hope he may be a friend to you: in wishing you this I am wishing that you may continue in prosperity, for that is the exact length of time he will be one.

I have hopes that my purpose will prove free from danger, 2 because I have concealed my intentions, and shall, I fancy, keep them very emphatically to myself. Only let the voyage be what I want, and everything else—so far at least as care beforehand can go—shall be provided for. You, I hope, will while I am still here write to me not only about what you know or have heard, but what you foresee is likely to happen. Cato—so Curio has sent me word—who had it in his power 3

to defend Sicily without the least trouble (and all good patriots would have flocked to join him if he had defended it), evacuated Syracuse on the 23rd of April. If only Cotta succeeds, as they are saying is the case, in keeping Sardinia!—this is really the report now. Oh, if it has been so, shame on Cato!

4 As for myself, to lessen suspicion of my departure or of my intentions, I left this for my house at Pompeii on the 12th, meaning to stay there until what was necessary for a voyage could be got ready. On my arrival at the villa there was an application: ‘the centurions of the three cohorts’ (which are stationed at Pompeii) ‘desired an interview on the following day:’ wishing indeed—this is the communication of our good friend Ninnius—to put themselves and the town at my disposal. But between you and me I was off from the house next day before daylight, so that they should not get a glimpse of me at all. For what was the good of three cohorts? What if even they had been more? How was I to keep them up? I thought of the very same exploits of Caelius¹ which I have now been reading of in your letter, having received it that same day the moment I reached my house at Cumae, and [at the same time] there was the possibility that it was only done to tempt me: so I have put myself outside all suspicion.

5 But while I am on my way back Hortensius had been calling, and had come out of his road to pay his respects to Terentia. He had used most complimentary expressions about me. I shall probably have an opportunity of seeing him though, because he has sent his man to announce a call upon me. This at any rate is better than our colleague Antonius, who has an actress with him in his litter among lictors!²

¹ This allusion is somewhat doubtful. A certain Caelius, probably Caelius Caldus, grandfather of Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia, is said to have joined with Carbo in raising an army in the south of Italy to oppose Sulla, who easily overthrew him; and the passage is generally explained as referring to him. Mr. Watson however thinks it may refer to Cicero's well-known correspondent, Caelius Rufus, who although now nominally a supporter of Caesar was rapidly drifting back again to the other side, and perhaps had already hinted at a revolt. Compare Introd. to Letter lxxvi.

² The letter in which these circumstances are related was written from Cicero's villa at Cumae at the very time when he was in correspondence with Antonius and Curio about the course which it would be prudent for him to take. In the speech (*Phil.* ii. 24) he expressly says that he was not in Italy

Since you are free now from quartan fever, and have shaken off not only your new complaint³ but also the influenza following on it, mind that you bring yourself strong and well to Greece when we meet. And in the meantime plenty of letters.

LXXV. (AD FAM. XIV. 7.)

FROM CICERO ON A VESSEL IN THE HARBOUR OF CAIETA
TO HIS WIFE TERENTIA AT CUMAE (?).

June 7, 705 A.V.C. (49 B.C.)

At last Cicero made up his mind to take the decisive step, and embarked for Greece on the vessel which had long been kept ready for him at Caieta (Letter liv. § 6), accompanied by his son Marcus, his brother Quintus, and his nephew, the younger Quintus. Terentia and Tullia—the latter had lately

(implying that he was already in the camp of Pompeius) at the time. It is impossible after this to attach any special weight to the scandalous imputations he throws out about Antonius. . . . Even if we were to admit everything that Cicero says against him, the progress of Antonius through Italy would still stand in luminous contrast to the devastating march of most of its previous conquerors.'—Merivale, ii. 222. The actress was the famous Cytheris, the Lycoris of Verg. Ecl. x. 2. Antonius was 'colleague' of Cicero as an Augur. (Letter xli. 1.) The characteristic weak play of words in '*lectica*,' '*lectores*,' should here be noticed.

³ According to Boot *nendum* in the sense of *non modo*, that is in an affirmative clause, is not found in Cicero's own writings. But he admits that it is found in the letter of Balbus and Oppius (Ad Att. ix. 7 A), '*nendum hominum humilium sed etiam amplissimorum virorum consilia . . . probari solent*:' so that whether it occurs elsewhere in Cicero or not is of little consequence. Compare however Ad Fam. vii. 28: '*Erat domicilium huius urbis aptius quam tota Peloponnesus, nendum Patrae.*' *Nendum* in fact is to *non modo* precisely as *μὴ ὅπως* to *οὐχ ὅπως*, and, like *μὴ ὅπως*, does not require any verb to be expressed, but when the verb is expressed it is naturally put in the conjunctive. Had *removisti* here occurred after *etiam* or *gravedinem*, or had *sed* been omitted, there would not have been the slightest difficulty. Now the emphasis laid on Atticus's entire recovery from his disease, which is more important than his recovery also from its minor consequences (*gravedo*), has attracted the verb from its usual place into the more important clause. But to state this principal fact in the conjunctive (=I do not say anything about your complaint), would have been to destroy the true emphasis, and to lay the stress on the accessory fact. The reading is therefore fully capable of defence, though the rare usage has apparently given rise to some confusion in the MSS. between *nendum* and the following word *novum*.

It seems from Ad Att. x. 10, 3 that this new complaint of Atticus was accompanied by strangury, *δισονύμα*. *Gravedo*, according to Celsus, iv. 2. 4, had as a symptom *turbida urina*, which connects the two passages.

been confined of a seven-months' child, which soon died—were left behind, probably at Cumae. Cicero found however to his surprise that his tardy arrival in the Pompeian camp was by no means welcome either to the leader or his party.

'From the time of Cicero's departure from Italy till the beginning of the following February we are without any letters; and there are but four letters to Atticus written from Epirus and from the camp of Pompeius, besides a few brief notes to Terentia from that month till the middle of July. The few letters to Atticus which remain evince the mental dejection into which he fell.' —Abeken.

The date of this letter is given in several edd. as July 11 (*iii Idus*), but *vii Idus* seems to be the true reading.

Merivale, ii. 243; Abeken, 302-304; Forsyth, 375-378.

1 All those annoyances and causes of anxiety, by which I made you so miserable—indeed this was to me the most annoying part of it all—and my Tullia too who is dearer to me than life, I have now put aside and got clean rid of. I discovered the origin of them all the very day after leaving you. In the night I was relieved of a quantity of bile—*toute pure*:¹ immediately I was so much better that it looked as if some god had been working my cure: and to this god [be it Apollo or Aesculapius] I have no doubt you will, as you always do, render your pure and grateful thanks.

2 I am in hopes that we have got a first-rate vessel: (I write this immediately on coming on board). I shall next write numerous letters to our more intimate friends entrusting you and my darling Tullia to their tenderest care. I would exhort you both to keep up your courage, if I had not found already that your courage beats any man's. Yet after all I am in hopes that matters are so going on that I may look forward to your being comfortably off where you are now, and to my own return hereafter with those who think with me, to be the defence of the Republic.

3 Above all things I trust you will not neglect your health; to which I may add that you will do well to make use, at your own discretion, of those villas which will be most out of the way of the soldiery. You will be able conveniently to occupy

¹ Mr. Watson suggests that Cicero uses Greek words here for delicacy's sake. But medical terms are with him usually expressed in Greek, just as our physicians' prescriptions are usually written in Latin. Compare Letters civ. 1; cvii. 8; and Prof. Tyrrell's Introd. i. 67.

the farm at Arpinum with our town establishment, if ever provisions should have become dearer. Our boy Marcus, who is a splendid fellow, sends you much love. Again and again good-bye.

June 7.

LXXVI. (AD FAM. VIII. 17.)

FROM MARCUS CAELIUS RUFUS AT ROME TO CICERO AT
THESSALONICA.

Early in 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

Between this letter and the preceding one comes the important decision of the struggle in Spain. Caesar first proceeded to Massilia (Marseille), which had been occupied by Domitius since his release from Corfinium (Letter lxvi. § 2), and staying there himself a month to advance the siege of the town, sent on the main part of his army under Gaius Fabius to hold the Pyrenees. The Pompeian army under Afranius and Petreius finding the passes gone, then took up its position at Ilerda (Lerida), on the Sicoris (Segre), between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. Here for forty days an extremely interesting campaign of military tactics went on, all of which are fully described by Caesar himself in his 'Civil War.' After various alternations of success the Pompeian army capitulated on Aug. 2, and was treated with extraordinary generosity. Further Spain, which was held by the celebrated scholar but incompetent general, Marcus Terentius Varro, then immediately declared for the conqueror. Meanwhile Decimus Brutus and Gaius Trebonius had vigorously pressed the siege of Massilia, at which place Caesar arrived from Spain just in time to receive its surrender in person. Sardinia and Corsica having been conquered by Valerius, and Sicily by Curio, the only Pompeian gains to be set against this vast success of Caesar over the whole of the West were the death of Curio in Africa (Introd. to Letter lxxiv.), and a naval victory over Gaius Antonius, a younger brother of Marcus, in the Illyrian gulf.

From Massilia Caesar returned to Rome, quelling on his way a serious mutiny of the 9th legion at Placentia (Piacenza), which arose from his stern refusal ever to give up a town, as the Pompeians always did, to pillage and massacre. He had already been elected dictator on the nomination of the praetor Lepidus (see Letter lxii. note 5., in which capacity he presided at the election of consuls, and was returned with Publius Servilius Isauricus, an undecided politician who is called by Cicero an imitator of Cato (Letter ix. § 10). Though Caesar remained dictator for only eleven days he carried three measures of great importance: (1) a compromise, the substantial justice of which is proved even by this letter, on the vexed question of debts; (2) amnesty to exiles, with the sole exception of the turbulent Milo, under the acts of Pompeius and Sulla; (3) full extension of the franchise, which had probably been informally granted before (see Introd. to Letter xxxi.) to the Transpadane Gauls, and to the citizens of Gades (Cadiz); the latter not being even an Italian town marks a new departure in policy. At the end of the year (which by the true time was only mid-autumn) he left Rome for Brundisium, and sailed with six greatly

thinned legions for Epirus ; and as Pompeius was now moving from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium the two great rivals were at last to meet face to face.

As to Caelius see Introd. to Letters xxxiii. and lxix. This is the last letter Cicero received from him, and his subsequent fate may be here narrated. Becoming again discontented with Caesar, whom he had for a short time warmly supported, and thinking his reward insufficient, he tried a revolutionary programme ; and being suspended from his praetorship by the Senate left Rome to raise, in conjunction with Milo, an insurrection in South Italy in favour of Pompeius (see Letter lxxiv. note 1) ; in this both were speedily killed. The present letter is apparently written on the eve of his leaving Rome ; and the date is fixed, Mr. Watson says, on the one hand by Caesar's army (§ 2) being already in presence of Pompeius, on the other by the death of Caelius, which occurred early in the year 48.

Mommsen, iv. 382-404 ; Merivale, ii. 172-257 ; Long. v. ch. 5-9 ; Forsyth, 280 ; Froude, Caesar, ch. 22.

1 And this is what my being in Spain instead of at Formiae when you went to join Pompeius has come to ! Would to Heaven indeed that either Appius Claudius had been on this side or Gaius Curio on yours ! It was only my intimacy with him which by degrees threw me into the arms of this accursed cause ; for I am conscious that rage and affection have between them robbed me of my good sense. I must say that you too, when I came from Ariminum and paid you a night visit, forgot the part of a friend in playing the sublime patriot ; and while giving me instructions of peace for Caesar, you gave me no hint for my own advantage. And I am not saying this as though I had any want of confidence in our cause, but, take my word for it, it is better to die than have the sight of these 2 creatures. Indeed but that people dread the atrocities of your party, we should long ago have been turned out of this ; for at present here, with the exception of a few usurers, there is neither individual nor class that is not Pompeian. I myself indeed have not only thoroughly brought round the rabble, but even the mass of burghers, who used to be ours, to your side. Why so ? Nay, you must all wait and see : I shall have made you win in spite of yourselves. I mean to pose as a second Cato : you are all asleep, and do not yet perceive, it seems to me, how exposed or how defenceless we are. Moreover I shall do this with no hope of any reward, but entirely from resentment and indignation, which generally with me has the principal weight.

What are you doing over there ? Waiting for a battle,

which is the strongest card in his hand?¹ I do not know your forces: our men's way is to fight stoutly to the last, and make light of cold and hunger.

LXXVII. (AD FAM. IX. 9.)

FROM DOLABELLA IN CAESAR'S CAMP TO CICERO IN POMPEIUS'S AT PETRA NEAR DYRRACHIUM.

End of May, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

On Caesar's arrival in Epirus Oricum and Apollonia at once submitted to him, and Pompeius was only just in time even to save the great arsenal of Dyrrachium; to cover which he took up his position on the right bank of the river Apsus, while his opponent was on the left. Here it daily became more absolutely necessary for Caesar, not having the command of the sea, that Antonius should speedily bring the remaining forces from Italy. The main body of the Pompeian fleet, under the feeble Marcus Bibulus, was stationed at Corcyra; but a strong squadron, under the abler Lucius Scribonius Libo, was watching the harbour of Brundisium. Antonius however, just when Caesar's situation was nearly desperate, at last effected a start, and after an extraordinarily narrow escape landed his transports at Nymphaeum, some distance to the N. of Dyrrachium, and in a few days succeeded in joining his forces with those of his commander.

Pompeius having been thus cut off from the land-communication with Dyrrachium took up a new position at Petra (The Rock) in the neighbourhood, and there enclosed himself in a strong entrenchment, open only to the sea. Round this entrenchment Caesar actually carried a double line of counter-rampart through an arc of seventeen miles; and thus 'presented to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a superior force, commanded by the most experienced general of the age, blockaded in the centre of the country which he had himself chosen for the campaign.'—Merivale.

It is apparently at this juncture, when Caesar's fortune seemed most triumphant, that the present letter—not at all an unkind one, though Dolabella already meant to divorce Tullia (see note 5 of the next letter)—is written to induce Cicero to withdraw in time. It is exceedingly stilted and verbose, like most of the formal letters of the Romans.

Mommsen, iv. 402-408; Merivale, ii. 247-268; Long, v. ch. 10, 11; Abeken, 306; Forsyth, 380; Froude, Caesar, ch. 22.

I hope that you, like Tullia and myself, are quite well.¹ Terentia has been comparatively indisposed, but I am informed beyond doubt that she is now quite recovered. With that exception everything at your house is going on most satisfactorily.

Although there has never been a time in which I could

¹ This use of *firmum habere* is rare (compare Letter xii. 4), and seems to be almost technical.

with any justice be met by you with the suspicion that it was more for the sake of our party than of yourself that I advised you either to join Caesar and the rest of us, or else at any rate to retire into neutrality, it is clear that now, when the scales have already dipped towards victory, I cannot possibly lay myself open to any criticism of my motives, except that which represents me as recommending you a course, which duty forbids me to leave unsaid.¹ Will you then, my dear Cicero, so receive what I have to say that, whether it is to meet with your approval or your disapproval, you will at any rate confess yourself convinced that both these reflections and the present statement of them have originated only in the sincerest and most devoted feelings towards yourself?

2 You have before your eyes the fact that neither the greatness of his name and of his achievements, nor yet the patronage he exercises over divers kings and peoples, of which he used so often to make his boast,² has been a protection to Pompeius himself: nay more, that to him alone is denied what to his meanest private has not been denied—the chance of an honourable retreat;—chased from Italy, the Spanish Provinces lost, his veteran army captured, finally himself now blockaded, which I should think has probably never happened to any Roman general before. Use your good judgment therefore and consider what hopes either he or you can have; for this will be the easiest way of arriving at that decision which will be most to your advantage. Now I have this request to make of you, that supposing he has by this time extricated himself from the present danger and hidden himself away in his fleet, you will consult your own interests, and think it time at last to be your own friend rather than anybody else's. You have already paid your claims in full, whether

¹ In spite of the clumsy verbiage of this sentence the meaning ought not to present any difficulty. The apodosis clearly begins at 'praecipue nunc,' which is opposed to 'nullo tempore,' and it would be better to add a comma after 'nunc,' 'iam inclinata Victoria' being explanatory of it. 'In aliam incidere opinionem' is thus opposed to 'in suspicionem venire,' of which it is the weaker form, an antithesis which would be utterly destroyed by the feeble rendering 'to come to any other opinion.' 'In eam in qua' is only an awkward periphrasis for 'ut' or 'quod.'

² He was called the 'king of kings.' See Mommsen, iv. 402; Merivale, ii. 239-240.

they are those of duty or of intimacy: you have even paid those of your party, and of that form of government which you considered the best. What remains for us is to range ourselves wherever the government of the day is found, rather than follow in search of the old one only to find ourselves under none at all.

If therefore, my dearest Cicero, it should happen that Pompeius is driven from these parts too, and forced to betake himself to some other country, I should hope that you would withdraw, say to Athens, or to any undisturbed city you please: and if you intend to take this course I trust that you will write to me, so that I, if in any way I possibly can, may fly to your side. Anything which it will be necessary to obtain our general's consent to, in order for you to assert your position, it will be perfectly easy—so great is Caesar's courtesy—for you to obtain from him yourself; I think however that my entreaties will be found to have no little influence with him.

I may add that in honour and good feeling you will no doubt see that the bearer whom I send with this is allowed to pass the lines again, and that he brings me back a letter from you.

LXXVIII. (AD ATT. XI. 4.)

FROM CICERO IN POMPEIUS'S CAMP AT PETRA TO ATTICUS
AT ROME.

June or July, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

Between the time of this and the preceding letter the fortune of war had apparently changed. In Caesar's two lines of rampart a small part was yet uncompleted when an attack, based on information from deserters, was made by Pompeius, and the line of entrenchment broken. It was necessary for Caesar at once to retire, first to Apollonia, and then to Thessaly, where the war was finally decided in the great battle of Pharsalus. See Introd. to the next letter.

There is a distinct difference of tone between the two sections of this letter, which has occasioned the suspicion that it is a compound of two, written at different times; § 1 about July 1, § 2 about June 2—Tyrrell and Purser, iv. p. xci. Cicero was left behind in ill health at Dyrrachium when Pompeius and his army followed Caesar, and was there at the time of the battle of Pharsalus.

Mommsen, iv. 408-412; Merivale, ii. 274-280; Long, v. ch. 13-15; Abeken, 305; Forsyth, 381; Froude, Caesar, ch. 22.

1 I have received a letter brought by Isidorus, and also two of later date. I find from the latest one that the farms have not been sold ; so will you see about making some provision for maintenance ? As far as regards the one at Frusino¹ the arrangement will be a convenient one for me—that is if we are to be allowed to exist. You ask what has become of my letters, but the fact is I am stopped by sheer want of matter, having nothing at all worth putting on paper ; since I find myself equally unable to be satisfied with either accidental results or deliberate acts. Oh, if I could but have discussed things with you some time ago, instead of by letter ! I am keeping an eye on your property here, as far as I can among these people—ask Celer for more. As for myself, I have hitherto avoided any official position—all the more because there was nothing to be done which would in any way suit me or my interests.

2 Since you are anxious to know what has happened in the way of news, you will be able to learn this from Isidorus. It is not probable that for the rest of our task the difficulties are greater. You, I hope, will take particular care about what you know I have most at heart, as you tell me you will, and as you are now doing.² Mental anxiety is wearing me out, and this is creating extreme bodily weakness also : but when this is relieved I shall stay with him :³ he is bestirring himself and is in high spirits. Brutus⁴ is very friendly : he is engaging vigorously in the cause. This is as far as I can go in a letter with prudence. Good-bye.

P.S.—As to paying a second instalment,⁵ I entreat you to use the greatest care in considering the question what I must do, as I said in the letter which Pollex took.

¹ A town in Latium, now Frosinone. Mr. Forsyth is unhappy in both forms, which he gives as 'Frusinum' and 'Frussilone.'

² This probably means the care which Atticus was taking of Tullia.

³ Pompeius.

⁴ This is Marcus Brutus (see Letter xiii. note 2) ; Decimus Brutus was one of Caesar's best generals.

⁵ Cicero refers to Tullia's dowry on her marriage with Dolabella, which was due on the 1st of July. She was afterwards divorced by him ; and Cicero's reluctance to pay is probably because this already seemed likely to happen, and it might be difficult—as afterwards indeed proved to be the case—to recover the money.

PART IV.

THE REIGN OF CAESAR.

PART IV.

FROM THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS (AUG. 9, 48 B.C.) TO
THE MURDER OF CAESAR (MARCH 15, 44 B.C.)

LXXIX. (AD ATT. XI. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Early in November, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

After the important disaster of Dyrrachium which so nearly imperilled all Caesar's hopes (see Introd. to the preceding letter), he was forced to retreat towards Thessaly. With great difficulty, and in spite of the efforts of Pompeius, he effected a junction on the borders with the two legions under Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus. The two main divisions of Pompeius's army united at Larissa, the capital of Thessaly, when they amounted to a force of no less than 47,000 men and 7000 horse, or more than double that of Caesar. The battle was fought on the 9th of August, near the town of Pharsalus (*Fersala*) on the river Enipeus, about twenty-five miles S. of Larissa, where Caesar gained the decisive victory which made him absolute master of Rome. Pompeius, though his situation was still anything but desperate, fled to the coast, and took ship for Cilicia, and thence for Egypt; where, on September 28, he was treacherously murdered by the ministers who ruled for the young king Ptolemaeus the Twelfth. His death is mentioned somewhat coldly in Letter lxxx. There is a well-known sketch of his character in Mommsen, iv. 10-12; 'a man thoroughly ordinary; created by nature to be a good sergeant, called by circumstances to be a general and a statesman.'

Cicero, as has been already mentioned, was, or pretended to be, ill at Dyrrachium at the time of the battle of Pharsalus. He was indeed in far greater danger from the furious Pompeians than from Caesar. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (who fell in the battle) had already proposed a sentence of death and forfeiture of property against every senator who had remained in Italy (see Letter lxxx.); and when in a rendezvous of the Senatorial party at Corcyra Cato offered the command to Cicero as being the senior ex-consul, he was threatened with death on declining it, by Pompeius's elder son, Gnaeus, and apparently owed his life to the intervention of Cato. Without waiting for a permission therefore he returned to Italy, and landed at Brundisium early in

November, where he remained until the following September. 'The letters to Atticus written from Brundisium,' says Abeken, 'are the most melancholy of the whole collection.' Among other causes for bitterness was the ungenerous conduct of Quintus Cicero, of which the four succeeding letters complain; because in making his peace with the conqueror he had thrown the blame of his defection upon his brother. Cicero was moreover considerably embarrassed by the presence of his lictors, whose staves of office were still crowned with laurels for the successes in Cilicia (see Introd. to Letters xxxix. xlii. and xlvi.), and so attracted more observation, in spite of which he could not bring himself to part with these now useless vestiges of his dignity.

Mommsen, iv. 410-425; Merivale, ii. 278-309; Long, v. ch. 16-18; Abeken, 306-322; Forsyth, 379-387; Froude, Caesar, ch. 22, 23.

- 1** What the causes are that have moved me thus—so bitter, so grievous, so strange were they—and forced me to rely as it were on an impulse of feeling rather than on any deliberate resolution I cannot describe to you without the greatest pain; at all events they were enough to have produced the result you now see. The consequence is that I am at a loss both what explanation to write to you of my proceedings, and what to ask for: you see the circumstances and the gist of the whole matter. I perceived indeed from your letters, including both the common communication from you and several friends, and the private one from yourself, what indeed I was not slow to see, that you, though almost unnerved, I may say, by my sudden action, were now casting about for fresh ways of protecting me.
- 2** As to the course you recommend in your letter, that I should come nearer you, and arrange the journey so as to pass through the towns by night, I really do not see how that could be managed; because in the first place there are no suitable houses for me to lodge at where I could possibly spend the whole of the daytime, and secondly, it makes no great difference for the purpose you intend whether people see me in a town or on the road. But all the same I will take this particular plan equally with others into consideration, to see how it could be most conveniently carried out.
- 3** Owing to more illness of both mind and body than one would believe, I have not felt myself equal to the task of writing many letters; I have merely sent answers to such people as I had heard from. Will you kindly write in my name¹ as you may think proper to Basilus, and any one

¹ See Letter xvi. note 7.

else, just as you think good, and also to Servilius.² That for so long a time I have not written any of you a single word, is, you will no doubt see from this letter, because I lack matter for writing, not inclination.

As to your question about Vatinius, I should not want for ⁴ the services either of him or of any one else if they could find in what to help me. At Patrae I found that Quintus was in a most hostile mood towards me: his son came over from Corcyra to meet him there. I suppose they have now left it and gone in the same direction as the rest.

LXXX. (AD ATT. XI. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Nov. 27, 706 A.V.C. (48 B.C.)

I am sensible that your anxiety is not only about your own ¹ prospects and those of us all alike, but is in an especial degree about me and my trouble: indeed this same trouble of mine, so far from being lessened, is positively aggravated by the fact that it includes you as a fellow-victim. It is simply what would be expected of your discernment that you feel in what topic of consolation I can find the greatest relief; because you give your approval to the step I have taken, and admit that under the circumstances there was nothing better for me to do. You add moreover this,—a trifling matter to me indeed when compared with your judgment, but not trifling in itself,—that everybody else also, that is among people of any weight, approves of what I have done. Could I but think that this was really so I should be less troubled. But I may take it on your word? Of course I take your word; but then I know how ² eager you are that my trouble should be lightened. It has never been a regret to me that I left the camp behind: there was such ferocity to be found in those men, such intimate alliance with savage tribes, that a proscription had been already sketched out, not of isolated individuals but of whole classes;

² Now consul with Caesar. See Introd. to Letter lxxvi.

while it had been already settled by general consent that the estates of you all were to be made the prize of his victory. I expressly say all of you ; for even about yourself there never were any but the most ferocious intentions. Consequently I never shall regret my object ; I do regret the means I adopted. A better way would have been to settle down in some country town, until such time as I should be sent for ; I should then have had fewer remarks to undergo, fewer stabs to feel inflicted : I should be spared even my present feeling of vexation. To be lying thus at Brundisium is annoying in every point of view. How is it possible for me to come nearer, as you recommend, without the official retinue given me by the nation, which cannot be taken away from me without a robbery of my rights ? I have for the present made these men when I am near the town go separately into the midst of the crowd with nothing but single staves, for fear of exciting an attack of the soldiery ;

3 [at the proper time I shall resume their attendance. Will you now send word to Oppius and Balbus, because if these people were to favour the idea of my coming nearer in the same fashion as at present I would consider the question further.^{1]}] My belief is that they will approve ; because to this they pledge themselves—that Caesar will make it his care not only to guard the rights of my position but even to add yet more to them, and they exhort me to be of good cheer, and to entertain the highest hopes. All this, though they promise and give me strong assurances of it, I should feel was more beyond doubt if I had stayed behind. But I am thrusting upon you what is now done with. Look therefore for my sake into what is still to come, and sift the question thoroughly in conference with the men you allude to ; and if you think this is essential, and these people are likely to approve, call into council also Trebonius, Pansa, and anybody else, so that Caesar may be the more inclined to give his sanction to this step of mine if it is thought to have been taken at the suggestion of his own

¹ The passage in brackets is extremely corrupt, and leaves room for widely different conjectures. Boot's emendation, which I have here translated, involves the least amount of change. 'RecipiAM (sc. lictores) tempore idoneo. MITTE nunc ad Oppium et Balbum, quoniam his SI placeret EO modo (=cum lictoribus) prius accedere hac de re considerarem.'

friends, and get them to write to Caesar that anything which I have done has only been done at their suggestion.

The illness of my dear Tullia and her feeble constitution ⁴ is to me a deadly anxiety. To her I see you have shown much attention, which is the greatest kindness you could do to me.

As to the fate of Pompeius I never had any doubt; ⁵ because such despair of his success had impressed itself on the minds of all the kings and peoples, that I believed wherever he betook himself this would come to pass. I cannot but lament his fall; I knew him to be, as a man, single-minded, pure, and earnest.

Am I to condole with you about Fannius? He was ⁶ using dangerous expressions about your staying behind. Lentulus Crus indeed had made himself sure of Hortensius's house, Caesar's pleasure-gardens, and the Baiae estate! ² Exactly the same is done by this party here, only that on the other side there was no limitation at all, because everybody who had stayed in Italy was accounted an enemy. But more of this I hope when our feelings are easier.

I hear that my brother Quintus is gone to Asia to make his peace; about his son I have heard nothing. But ask Diochares, Caesar's freedman—I have not seen him myself, but he is the man who brought you your letter from Alexandria:—he is reported to have seen him [either] on the road, or else already in Asia. I am expecting a letter from you, as present circumstances demand; and will you kindly see that it reaches me as soon as possible?

Nov. 27.

LXXXI. (AD ATT. XI. 9.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

Jan. 3, 707 A.V.C. (47 B.C.)

It was not long before Cicero repented of his return to Italy. Antonius, who was acting for Caesar there, informed Cicero, though in civil terms, that

² A curious parallel to this is the popular (but probably untrue) story that he Admiral of the Spanish Armada, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had selected Mount Edgecumbe for his own residence.

he could not be allowed to remain in the country ; and the new tribunes, of whom Dolabella was one, seem to have introduced a bill excluding from Italy all who had served in the Pompeian army. On the intercession of Dolabella however a special edict excepting him and Decimus Laelius¹ (*Ad Att. xi. 7*) by name was issued ; which in itself was both an annoyance and a real danger to Cicero, since it exposed him to the certain vengeance of his party if they should ever again be triumphant ; and this contingency at the present time—Caesar being now besieged in Alexandria—seemed far from improbable. See Introd. to Letter lxxxiii.

On the complaints about Quintus Cicero, whose treachery is denounced in this letter, see Introd. to Letter lxxix.

Abeken, 319-320 ; Forsyth, 382.

1 Yes, it is quite true : I have acted both incautiously, as you say, and with greater haste than was right ; and now I am without the least hope of any kind, being kept back here by the very exceptions that have been made in the edicts, which if your unwearied care and kindness had never succeeded in procuring for me, I should be free to go into some solitary spot or other : as it is, even that is denied me. What advantage again do I get from having returned before the new tribunes came into office, if the fact of my having returned is itself no advantage at all ? What help moreover can I expect from a man who never was really friendly to me, when I find myself at last struck down and crushed even by process of law ? Balbus's letters to me now grow daily cooler : and various others from various people to the great man keep on coming —possibly to run me down. The fault was mine if I am ruined : fortune did me no ill turn at all ; I drew it all upon myself by my own folly ; for I had determined immediately on seeing the real character of the war—how everything was feeble and disorganised, against forces in perfect organisation—what was the line I would take ; and I had adopted not perhaps so much a bold policy as one that was more **2** legitimate for me than for any one else. I yielded to my friends, or rather I obeyed their orders : and what the real attitude of one of those friends was—the very one for whom you ask my consideration²—you will learn from himself in the

¹ Not Coelius (Caelius), as Mr. Forsyth absurdly says.

² This refers to Quintus Cicero. Atticus probably thought that Caesar would be more angry with Quintus, who was one of his own officers, than with his brother Marcus.

letters he has sent to you and other people. These I should never have opened but for a circumstance which occurred in the following way. A packet was brought to me: I opened it to see if there was anything in the way of a note for myself: nothing, but there was a letter for Vatinius and another for Ligurius. I gave orders for them to be forwarded. Immediately in came these people in a burning rage, crying what shameful conduct it was of him: they read me their letters, which were full of every kind of insult to me. Hereupon Ligurius broke into a passion: he knew for a fact that the writer was extremely disliked by Caesar, who nevertheless had not only shown him much attention, but had given him all that sum of money as a mark of attention to me. I myself after receiving such a blow as this wanted to know what he had written to other people, because I thought that even to himself it would be ruinous, if such a crime on his part had once got abroad. Having ascertained that they were of the same character, I have sent them on to you: if you think it will be well for himself that they should be forwarded, will you forward them? It will not hurt me at all, because, as to their having been opened, Pomponia, I imagine, has his seal.³ He gave way to just the same outburst of temper at the very beginning of our voyage, and affected me so painfully that I have since been quite prostrate; and even now they say he is trying hard not so much to benefit himself as to injure me.

Thus you see I am burdened by troubles in every way,³ which I am hardly able, or in plain truth am quite unable to bear: out of which miseries there is one equal in weight to all the rest put together, that I shall leave that poor child stripped of the patrimony which is her whole fortune: for which reason I should particularly wish to see you, according to your promise. I have no one else to whose care I can commend her, because I have seen that the same fate is intended for her mother as for myself.⁴ But supposing you find me gone,

³ See Letter xxxi. note 6; xlvi. note 4.

⁴ Mr. Watson justly remarks that severity to women was in Roman revolutions very rare, and therefore that Cicero's apprehensions were hardly justified, even apart from the proved clemency of Caesar.

consider nevertheless that she has virtually been commended to your care, and soften her uncle towards her as far as you can.

I write this letter on my birthday. Would that on that day I never had been allowed to live, or that of my mother no other son had afterwards been born ! My tears prevent me from writing more.

LXXXII. (AD ATT. XI. 12.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March 8, 707 A.V.C. (47 B.C.)

1 This evening—the 8th of March—Cephalio has brought me a letter from you. Now it was only this very morning that I had sent off some messengers to whom I entrusted a letter for you ; but still after reading yours I thought some answer to it was required ; principally because you show me that you are doubtful what reason I shall assign to Caesar for my going away at the time when I left Italy. There is no need in my case of any fresh reason : I have frequently said in letters to him, and charged many others to do so, that, earnestly as I had desired it, I could not bear the reflections that people were making, and much to that effect. For the last thing I should ever wish him to think was, that in a matter of such importance I had not acted upon my own judgment. And when I learnt at a subsequent period, by a letter I received from the younger Cornelius Balbus, that in his opinion my brother Quintus had been ‘the trumpet which sounded the call for me to come’—these were his words,—not knowing as yet what Quintus had written about me to various people (for though it is true that to my very face he had said and done a great deal in a bitter temper, yet all the same this did not deter me), I wrote to Caesar in the following terms :—

2 ‘It is not because I am less anxious for my brother Quintus than for myself if in my present condition I do not presume to request your consideration for him. Still this at all events, which I entreat you to grant, I will presume to ask from you ;

' namely, not to believe that anything has been done by
' him to infringe upon my unbroken recognition of your claims
' upon me, or to weaken my regard for you : on the contrary,
' that he has always endeavoured to promote a closer con-
' nexion between us, and that when I did depart, if he was my
' companion, he was not my leader. On any occasions there-
' fore that may arise you will not, I am sure, refuse to accord
' him all that your own courtesy and your mutual regard
' demands. As for myself, that I may not in any way injure
' him in your good opinion is what I plead for again and again
' with all the strength I possess.'

Supposing therefore that later on I have secured some 3 kind of interview with Caesar, though I entertain no doubt—this indeed he has already shown—that he will be disposed to treat him with kindness, yet for myself I shall be what I have always been. But I see that we ought to be much more concerned about Africa, which you tell me indeed is daily gathering such strength as to encourage our hopes, probably rather of some agreement than of a victory. May it prove to be so ! My reading of the situation however is widely different, and I imagine that even you so take it in your heart, though your letters represent things in another light, not to deceive, but to encourage me ; especially since Spain is now added to Africa.

As to your advice that I should write to Antonius and to 4 the rest of them, will you kindly do for me what you have often done before, if there is anything hereafter which you consider essential ? Nothing has suggested itself to me which I consider it necessary to write about. When people tell you that I am less depressed in spirits, what is your own opinion when you see these glorious proceedings of my son-in-law coming on the top of my previous vexations ?¹ Still I should hope you would never forget to write to me to the fullest extent of your opportunities for so doing, even whenever you have no special

¹ Dolabella, who like Clodius had been adopted into a plebeian family in order to be elected tribune, and was now taking up the rôle of Caelius Rufus (see Introd. to Letter lxxvi.), proposed again a cancelling of rents and loans, and thus caused several riots, which were at once stopped on Caesar's return. Mommsen, iv. 460 ; Merivale, ii. 330 ; Abeken, 322.

subject for writing about, because your letters always bring me some advantage.

I have formally accepted Galeo's legacy; for it is, I suppose, an acceptance without conditions, since no notice of any has been sent to me.²

March 8.

LXXXIII. (AD FAM. XV. 15.)

FROM CICERO AT BRUNDISIUM TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS
IN THE CAMP OF CAESAR AT ALEXANDRIA (?).

August or September, 707 A.V.C. (47 B.C.)

After the battle of Pharsalus Caesar accepted the submission of most of his opponents, including the recipient of this letter, Gaius Cassius, afterwards one of his murderers, whom he took on to his own staff; Marcus Brutus, whom he made Governor of Cisalpine Gaul; even Marcus Marcellus, who had so largely contributed to the immediate rupture; and many others as well. Following Pompeius then with all speed, he arrived at Alexandria only a few days after the murder had been committed. A struggle for the Egyptian crown was at this time going on between the younger Ptolemaeus and his sister Cleopatra, whom, according to Oriental usage, he had married. When Caesar claimed to decide the dispute in the name of the Republic, a cry of national independence was raised, and the populace, who supported a younger sister, Arsinoe, blockaded Caesar in the island of Pharos, where again he was within an ace of destruction (see Introd. to Letter lxxxi.) Relief at length came from Mithradates of Pergamus, and on the 27th of March the Egyptian army was routed in the battle of the Nile, and Cleopatra made Queen of Egypt.

In Asia Minor Pharnaces, a son of the great Mithradates, had seized the provinces which once belonged to his father; and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's able lieutenant, was unable to hold him in check. Caesar therefore left Alexandria in July, and gained a decisive victory at Zela, or Ziela, in Pontus, on the 3d of August; after which he returned to Rome. It was on this occasion that he is said to have sent the celebrated despatch, '*Veni, vidi, vici.*'—Suetonius, Caesar, 35-37.

The present letter seems to have been written before the news of this victory arrived, but after the Alexandrine war, and therefore may probably be dated August or early in September.

Mommsen, iv. 418-433; Merivale, ii. 309-335; Long, v. ch. 19-22; Froude, Caesar, ch. 23.

² Mr. Watson, after Boot, renders: 'I imagine that it is an acceptance and nothing more,' supplying *hereditas* with *nulla*. This cannot stand; the word must be *cretio*. Manutius explains *cretio simplex* as acceptance by a sole heir; but it means 'without special conditions' (Tyrrell and Purser)—no conditions were sent with the notice.

Although the hope of peace and the horror of bloodshed 1 among our own countrymen made both of us equally wish to abstain from obstinate persistence in the war, yet since I, as it seems, was the first to insist on this policy, I may perhaps be expected rather to furnish you with advice than look to you for it: yet, as I often remind myself, my friendly arguments with you and yours with me have equally availed to bring both of us to the same conclusion—the opinion, I mean, that it would be well to let a single battle determine, if not the whole cause, at any rate our own decision. Nor has any one in fact ever blamed us for this opinion, except those people who hold it better that the Republic should be entirely overthrown than continue to exist under a weakened and mutilated form; while I of course had no hope to look forward to from its extinction, much from such remains as were left.

But the subsequent events have been of such a nature, that 2 it is more surprising how they could ever have come to pass at all than that we should neither have been able to foresee their occurrence, nor, being but human, foretell the future. For my own part, I confess it was my belief after that great battle on which, one may say, hung the issues of fate, that not only were the conquerors disposed to consult the national interest, but the conquered to consult their own, holding however that both events rested on the assumption that the victor would act with all speed; and had this been the case, Africa would have found his clemency to be no less than was the experience of Asia, and even, I may safely say, of Greece, seeing that it had yourself, I believe, as its spokesman and apologist. Now however that we have let the right moment slip—a thing of the greatest importance, particularly in a civil war—the lapse of a year has beguiled some into hopes of a victory, others into thinking lightly even of their defeat. Moreover it is chance which must bear the blame of all these untoward circumstances; for who could suppose either that the time consumed in the Alexandrian war would have to be added to the length of this war, or that this Pharnaces, or whatever they call him, would be able to threaten Asia? Nevertheless 2 you and I have found that an identical policy has ended in a difference of fate: for the party you have joined is one

where you could not only take part in deliberation, but—and this is the greatest alleviation of anxiety—have an opportunity of seeing beforehand what was intended to be done: I, who hastened to Italy to meet Caesar there (for that was what we expected) and spur, as the proverb has it, the galloping steed,—that is, that after extending his protection to so many of our most distinguished men he was returning of himself on the road to peace—both was and am kept widely apart from him. My way meanwhile lies in the very midst of the groans of Italy, and the piteous lamentations of the city, which we both of us could have done something to relieve in our own way, you in yours and I in mine, if any one had been here to give ⁴ us authority. So I hope that you with your unfailing kindness will write to me about your own views and inclinations, and your opinion as to what we ought to wait for or what to do. Your letter will be of great consequence to me. And, oh that I had followed the advice of your first one, which you sent me from Luceria! Then I should without the least annoyance have kept up the dignity of my position.

LXXXIV. (AD ATT. XII. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT ARPINUM TO ATTICUS AT ONE OF HIS
SUBURBAN VILLAS.

March (?) 25, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

In September 47 B.C. Caesar landed at Tarentum, whither Cicero hastened to meet him, and though he does not mention the interview in his letters, we learn from Plutarch that he was treated with the utmost courtesy. He then left Brundisium for Tusculum, where he stayed some weeks, and at last, resigning all hope of a triumph, entered the walls of Rome for the first time since he left it in the year 51 to be Governor of Cilicia. For the next two years he divided his time principally between Rome and Tusculum, and abstaining in general from politics, wrote several of his philosophical works. 'In the letters which now follow the great orator appears like one just awakened from slumbers oppressed by frightful dreams.'—Abeken. Compare Introd. to Letter xci.

Caesar remained in Italy barely two months, where he quelled a serious mutiny in Campania, and accepted from the obsequious Senate the consulship for 46 B.C. in conjunction with Lepidus. He then left for Africa, where the Senatorial party was now endeavouring to reorganise its shattered forces.

Mommsen, iv. 439-441; Merivale, ii. 336-343; Long, v. ch. 23; Abeken, 324-330; Forsyth, 388, 389; Froude, Caesar, ch. 24.

The dates in this letter depend of course on the month it was written in, which is uncertain. Baiter and Schütz give May; Mr. Watson now thinks March, but Profs. Tyrrell and Purser, following Schiche, November.

It being now eleven days since I left you, I am scrawling 1 this little bit of a note just as I am leaving my country-house before it is light. I think of being at my place at Anagnia to-day, and Tusculum to-morrow; only one day there, so that I shall come up all right to time on the 28th; and, oh, if I could but run on at once to embrace my Tullia and give Attica a kiss! Talking of this, by the by, do please write and let me know while I am stopping at Tusculum what her prattle is like, or, if she is away in the country, what her letters to you are about. Meanwhile either send or give her my love, and Pilia too. And even though we shall meet immediately, yet will you write to me anything you can find to say?

P.S.—I was fastening up this letter, but your courier has 2 just arrived here at an unearthly time of night with your letter. I was very sorry, you may be sure, to find on reading it that Attica is feverish. Everything else that I was waiting for I now know from your note; but when you tell me that to have a little fire in the morning '*sent le vieillard*,' I retort *il le sent plus* for one's poor old memory to begin to totter: because it was the 29th I had promised to Axius; the 30th to you; and the day of my arrival, the 31st, to Quintus. So take that for yourself—you shall have no news. Then what on earth is the good of writing? And what good is it when we are together and chatter whatever comes to our tongues? Surely there is something in *causerie* after all; even if there is nothing under it, there is always at least the delicious feeling that we are talking with one another.

LXXXV. (AD ATT. XII. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO ATTICUS AT ONE OF HIS
SUBURBAN VILLAS.

Early in April, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

In November Caesar left Rome to crush the last vestige of opposition in Africa. The rendezvous of the Senatorial party was fixed at first at Utica, on the bay of Carthage, but afterwards this city was entrusted to Cato, and the quarters moved southward to Hadrumetum. The nominal generalissimo was Scipio, but Iuba, King of Numidia, who had destroyed Curio (Introd. to Letter xxxiv.), knowing his aid to be indispensable, treated the Romans with great insolence. Part of Iuba's forces being diverted by the attacks of Publius Sittius on his dominions, and fresh reinforcements having arrived, Caesar at length gave battle at Thapsus, sixteen miles from his camp, on the 4th of April, and again won a decisive victory. Scipio, Cato, and Iuba all committed suicide ; and Caesar returned to Italy, arriving there in July.

Since Cicero had evidently not heard the news of the battle of Thapsus when this letter was written, which would not take more than three weeks at most to arrive, it cannot (as Mr. Watson points out) be dated later than mid-April.

Mommsen, iv. 434-449; Merivale, ii. 343-368; Long, v. ch. 24-27; Froude, Caesar, ch. 24.

- 1 The report here is that Statius Murcus has been lost in a shipwreck ; that Asinius Pollio has fallen into the hands of the soldiery, who are keeping him prisoner ; that fifty ships have been carried into Utica owing to the violence of this gale ; that Gnaeus Pompeius is nowhere to be seen, and, according to the account of Paciaecus, has never even been in the Balearic Islands at all ; but not a soul can positively vouch for anything. I give you here what people have been saying while you are away. Meanwhile the games are on at Praeneste.
- 2 Hirtius and all the set are there, and indeed there are to be eight days of games. Feasting and enjoying themselves like this, and meanwhile very likely the crisis has been decided ! What strange creatures ! As for Balbus—*que voulez-vous ?*—he is amusing himself with building. However, if you ask my opinion, when a man's object is not duty but enjoyment *n'a-t-il pas assez vécu ?* You yourself all the time are taking a nap : in this question *il faut décider*, and at once, if you are to do any good. If you ask me what I think, I say enjoy while

we may.¹ But no need for more ; I shall see you immediately. You will, I hope, after your journey straight to my house ; then we will arrange together a day for Tyrannio,² and anything else there may be.

LXXXVI. (AD FAM. IX. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO AT TUSCULUM.

May or June (?), 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Marcus Varro, the greatest of all Roman scholars, after his failure as a general in Spain (see Introd. to Letter lxxvi.) went over to Greece, and was one of the many who made submission to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus. Caesar wisely as well as generously engaged his services in superintending the formation of his great new library at Rome. The date of this letter is probably late in June, since the 7th of July would be about the time that Caesar would be expected to land (Watson), but Tyrrell-Purser give May.

Mommsen, iv. 592 ; Merivale, ii. 403.

Yes, I think that the 7th will be quite early enough, not only taking into account the state of public affairs, but even the time of year. I agree therefore to your day, and so I shall keep to the same one myself.

I should be far from thinking that we ought to regret our determination, even if those who did not adopt it had no cause to regret that now. It was the call of duty, not of hope, that led us on, while what we turned our backs on was not duty, but the absence of all hope. So that we were really more sensitive to the touch of honour than those who did not move from home ; more clear-headed than those who did not return home after they had spent all their resources. But

¹ If *fructum* be the true reading, Cicero probably means 'I reckon up all the good I get,' i.e. I make the best of things. So J. Lieben in 'Philologus,' 1895. Wesenberg suggests *fractum illum*, in allusion to Sextus Pompeius. Profs. Tyrrell and Purser suspect a Greek word, as usual, to be latent, and suggest *πεπράχθαι* (*c'est fini*), which is brilliant, but hardly accounts for the corruption. Moreover the clause before implies that the *recta quaerens* still has something left to live for.

² From Ad Att. xii. 6 Boot infers that Tyrannio, a grammarian, was to read to Cicero and Atticus a new work on accents. One is reminded of Hegel going to the publisher at Jena, unconscious that the great battle had just been fought.

there is nothing I am so impatient of as criticism from those who stopped at home at their ease ; and whatever is the real state of the case, I pay more honour to those who fell in the war than attention to those who are discontented with us because we presume to exist. Should I have an opportunity of getting to Tusculum before the 7th I shall see you there ; if that fails I will go after you to your house at Cumae, and let you have notice beforehand, so that everything may be ready for having a good bath.

LXXXVII. (AD FAM. IX. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME OR TUSCULUM TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PAETUS IN CAMPANIA.

Late in July, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Lucius Paetus was a learned and well-to-do friend of Cicero, to whom he wrote many amusing and chatty letters (*Ad Fam. ix. 15-26*), touching little on politics, but much on dining. He is mentioned in Letter ix. § 12.

Considering that Tullia had already left Dolabella's house, and that a divorce between them was imminent—it certainly took place before Dolabella left for Spain—it is amazing to find Cicero still living on intimate terms with his worthless son-in-law. Hirtius, who here appears only as a *bon vivant*, rose into political importance in the next period, after his election to the consulship. The date of this letter is approximately fixed by Caesar's return to Rome from Africa on July 26 ; Abeken erroneously gives it as written in June. It was probably sent from Tusculum, and not from Rome ; *hic* (§ 4), as Mr. Watson says, need not mean more than 'in these parts,' including, that is, both Rome and Tusculum.

Abeken, 330 ; Forsyth, 392 ; Dict. Biog. i. p. 1060.

I I was staying in my house at Tusculum and taking a holiday because I had sent my 'pupils' to meet this friend of theirs,¹ so that they might thereby as far as possible gain his good graces for me too, when your inexpressibly charming letter reached me. I perceive from it that you approve of my scheme of keeping a kind of school, now that [owing to the

¹ These 'pupils' of Cicero in rhetoric are Hirtius and Dolabella, and the 'friend' of course is Caesar, who was just at this time returning in triumph from the conclusion of the African war.

abolition of the law-courts²] I have lost my throne at the Bar: just as they say that Dionysius, being expelled from his kingdom at Syracuse, opened a school at Corinth.³ Well, I ² must say I am pleased with the scheme too, because it gives me many advantages: principally—which is now of the very greatest importance—I am throwing up an entrenchment for myself against the dangers of the times. Of what quality this may be I do not know; I only see that no one has struck out a plan which I prefer to it, unless perhaps a better way was to die. That I grant—on one's own bed,⁴ but such was not my fate; as to the field of battle, I was not on it. The others at any rate—Pompeius, your friend Lentulus, Afranius, and Scipio—all came to an ignominious end.⁵ But Cato's was a noble one? Well, this suggestion at any rate we can adopt whenever we like; only let us take precautions not to make it as much the only possibility for us as it was for him, which is just what I am doing.

That then is the first thing; next comes this—that I ³ myself am getting better: in my health, to begin with, which had been seriously injured by the temporary loss of this kind of exercise; and secondly, any facility of speaking I may have ever had would have been dried up at the source if I had not betaken myself to the exercise of it again. Lastly, there is

² The Roman judicial system, though near falling by its own corruption, was never abolished, and only partially reformed, by Caesar. See Mommsen, iv. 484. Perhaps Cicero (if the words are genuine) only refers to the natural stoppage of justice in the troubles of the Civil War, or he may be using an exaggeration, as if all free institutions were gone.

³ See Letter lxxii. note 2.

⁴ See Letter lxxi. note 10. Cicero was ill in bed at the time of the battle of Pharsalus (see Introd. to Letter lxxviii.), but *lectulo* need not specially refer to this.

⁵ For the fate of Pompeius see Introd. to Letter lxxxix. Metellus Scipio after the battle of Thapsus endeavoured to escape to Spain, but, his small squadron being overpowered by Publius Sittius, an adventurer acting in Caesar's interest, committed suicide; Afranius attempted to escape into Mauretania, but also fell into the hands of Sittius, and was put to death. The Lentulus here alluded to may be either Lentulus Cris, consul 49 B.C., or Lentulus Spinther, consul 57 B.C. The former was murdered in prison by the agents of the young king Ptolemaeus; the latter is spoken of by Cicero (Phil. xiii. 14, 29) as having been lost to his friends in the Civil War, and he may have perished unhappily, like nearly all the leaders of the Senatorial party. Mommsen, iv. 446; Merivale, ii. 328, 359-366; Froude, Caesar, 478.

this—which you probably would consider first—I have lately been demolishing more peacocks than you have paltry little pigeons! You are regaling over there on the saws of Haterius, I here on the sauces of Hirtius.⁶ So come like a good man and true, and learn from me the ‘Prolegomena’ of your ambition; though it will be like the pig who would teach Minerva.⁷ But I will see that some way is found.

4 If you cannot sell your valuation-holdings and get a good potful of silver you must migrate back to Rome: indigestion in these parts is a better ending than famine in yours. I see that you have diminished your income, and expect to hear that it is the same thing with all your friends over there. So it is all up with you unless you are prudent. You can manage to make your way to Rome on the mule you tell me you still have left, since your cob is gone to provide you a dinner! There shall be a chair for you next to mine in my school as my usher; and a cushion shall go with the chair.

LXXXVIII. (AD FAM. VII. 3.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS MARIUS, PROBABLY
AT POMPEII.

May, June, or July, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Marcus Marius, a member of the family of the great Marius, but of the Senatorial party in politics, was an intimate friend of Cicero, being like him a native of Arpinum, and one of his nearest neighbours at Pompeii. The present rather elaborate letter in vindication of Cicero's present abstention from politics scarcely bears out the remark of the Dictionary of Biography (ii. 959) that 'the four letters to him (Ad Fam. vii. 1-4) are written in a sportive tone.'

This and the seven succeeding letters illustrate, perhaps more fully than was necessary, Cicero's phases of feeling during Caesar's stay in Rome as Dictator for the third time, and between the two great battles of Thapsus and Munda. Of the far-reaching nature of Caesar's legislation at this period he seems entirely unconscious, but warmly praises his generosity to opponents.

On Caesar's legislation see Mommsen, vol. iv. book v. ch. 11 (Mommsen however attributes more to Caesar directly than the evidence strictly warrants);

⁶ Haterius was no doubt a lawyer, but nothing is known of him. The play on *ius* is one of Cicero's stock puns; a better known form of it is the *ius Verrinum*, *Verr.* iii. 46.

⁷ This proverb seems rather a favourite with Cicero; it is found also in *Acad.* *Post.* i. 18; *De Oratore*, ii. 233; and, in Greek, in Plutarch.

Merivale, ii. ch. 20; Long, v. ch. 32; Froude, Caesar, ch. 26; Watson, Appendix ix. 489.

Thinking as I very often do of the national calamities 1 through which our way has lain these many years, and must still, I see full well, continue to lie, the recollection constantly comes back to my mind of the last time we two were together: nay, I can tell you the very day. It was on the 13th of May, in the year when Lentulus and Marcellus were consuls,¹ that arriving one evening at my house at Pompeii I found you already there in much anxiety of mind. Now your anxiety arose partly from concern about what were my calls of duty, but also from the thought of the risk I was running. If I were to stay in Italy, this, you feared, might be a neglect of duty; if I were to go to the war, you were disturbed by the risk. And on this occasion you no doubt saw that I too was so agitated that I could not solve the problem, what would be the best thing to do; still I preferred to bow to loyalty and to public opinion rather than take into account what was safest for myself.

Now if I have repented of that resolution, it is not so much 2 on account of any danger to myself as of the many things I found to censure on my arrival. In the first place the troops were neither numerous, nor soldier-like; then, with the exception of our chief himself and a few others, all—I am speaking of the more prominent men—were, in the first place, so rapacious even during the war, and, secondly, so savage in their conversation, that I positively dreaded our success; and to add to this, the debts of men in the very highest position were enormous. In short, they had nothing to recommend them beyond their cause. Having seen all this then, and entertaining no hope of a victory, I at first attempted to give pacific counsels, which had always had my approval; afterwards seeing that Pompeius strongly dissented from my opinion I adopted the policy of recommending him to protract the war. Of this course he was at times inclined to approve, and by this opinion it seemed probable that he would abide, as indeed he

¹ 49 B.C. The incident is mentioned in Letter lxxiv. § 4, and is there said to have occurred on the 12th. Either therefore Cicero's memory was less accurate than he supposed, or iii in this passage should be corrected to iii.

very possibly would have done had he not after his success in a particular attack² begun to feel confidence in the soldiers under his command. Thenceforward that peerless man became a mere cipher as a general. He gave battle with a motley army of raw recruits to the most irresistible legions, and, being defeated, fled all alone in the most disgraceful manner, actually abandoning his camp.³ This I determined should be an end of service for me, not thinking it likely that we, who had been too weak when our forces were unbroken, should ever be the victors after this crushing blow. I would have no more to do with a war in which one only had the choice of falling on the field of battle, falling into a snare, running away to king Iuba, selecting some place in which to live like a banished man, or dying by one's own hand. At least no other alternative was possible, unless you were either not unwilling or not afraid to trust yourself to the conqueror.

Now of all the disagreeable courses I have mentioned, the least intolerable is a banishment, particularly for an innocent man, and where there is no disgrace attached: I may add when it means separation from a city, in which nothing is left that you can look on without pain. For myself, I chose rather to remain both in the company of and surrounded by what is my own—if anything now is anybody's own.

4 Everything that has happened I said would come to pass. I came home, not as though one would live there under the happiest conditions, but that I might regard myself as living, if any shadow of the Republic was to be preserved, in my own country; if not, as in a sort of exile. For deliberately hastening my own death I saw no reason; for longing for it a great deal of reason; it is, you know, an old saying,

‘When we are not what we were,
Still to live why should we care?’³

But yet it is a great solace to have a clear conscience, particularly as I have a double support to lean upon: familiarity with the noblest branches of learning, and the fame that attends on

² This refers to the successful attack which broke up Caesar's camp at Dyrrachium. See Introd. to Letter lxxviii.

³ This saying is probably quoted from one of the old dramas.

glorious deeds. Of the former I shall never be deprived so long as I live ; of the latter, not even when I am dead.

I have been somewhat prolix in writing thus to you, and 5 have tried your patience, because I feel sure of your strong attachment both to myself and to the Republic. I was anxious that you should be made acquainted with the whole of my views, so that you might see that in the first instance it never was my wish that the power of any single individual should outweigh that of his whole country, but that after a certain person had been to blame for making one man so strong that it was impossible to resist him, my wish was all for peace ; when our army was lost, and the one general on whom our hopes rested, I wanted every one else to join me, and failing in this attempt, adopted for myself the policy of no more war ; as to the present, if this is a free country, then I am a free citizen ; if not, I am an exile living in a place quite as convenient as if I had betaken myself to Rhodes or Mytilene.

I should have preferred to keep this until we meet ; but 6 as it was now getting a long time I have purposely put just what I should say into a letter, so that you might have an answer to give if you ever came across any of my detractors ; because there are certain people who, though my death was never likely to be of service to the Republic, yet hold it as a kind of imputation on my character that I still exist—people, as I myself know for a fact, who think that the victims that have already fallen are not enough. Even these, if they had but listened to me, might now have been alive, and without dishonour, however hard the terms of peace, for it would not have been their cause but only their swords that would have been proved inferior.

Here then is a letter for you of more pages perhaps than you would have bargained for, and I shall fancy you think it is so unless I find that you write me a still longer answer. I myself shall see you, I hope, in a short time, if I have succeeded in setting right some things that I wish.⁴

⁴ The allusion is no doubt purposely obscure. It may refer to Tullia's divorce from Dolabella (Introd. to Letter lxxxvii.), or to Cicero's unsatisfactory relations with Terentia, and the money difficulties in which he declared that she had involved him (Introd. to Letter xciv.).

LXXXIX. (AD FAM. IX. 17.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PAETUS
IN CAMPANIA.

August or September, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

See Introd. to Letter lxxxvii., and Abeken, 336.

- 1** What an odd man you are to ask me, after you have had a visit from our friend Balbus, what I think they will do with the country-towns and farms in your neighbourhood! As if I were either likely to know anything which that gentleman is unacquainted with, or as if whenever I do know anything I did not generally get my knowledge entirely from him. On the contrary, be sure an you love me that you let me know what they are going to do about us: you have had at your mercy a man who would certainly let you tap his information when the wine was in, if not when he was sober. But such matters as these, my dear Paetus, I never inquire into: in the first place because I have every reason to be satisfied with being alive these last four years or so, so far as one can call this a satisfaction, or even a life at all, to survive our country's freedom; and secondly, because I fancy that I know just as well as anybody else what must come: those who are in power will always have their will, and power will now always go by the sword. Whatever is left to us therefore we ought to be satisfied with; any one who could not put up with this, was **2** in duty bound to die. At any rate they are taking measurements of the lands about Veii and Capena; this is no great distance from Tusculum.¹ Still I have no fears; I enjoy while I may, and hope that I always may. If that hope falls short of being accomplished, still since, for all my stout heart and all my philosophy too, I took life to be the most attractive thing after all, why I cannot but love a man whose kindness has let me have it: though even if he were really eager for a

¹ Veii, the old antagonist of Rome, and about twelve miles N.W. from it, is now Isola Farnese; Capena was on the right bank of the Tiber, near Mount Soracte. Both are therefore on the side of Rome farthest from Tusculum.

free constitution—such as perhaps he does himself admire, and as all of us are bound to prefer—he has nevertheless no power of action at all; so deeply has he entangled himself with a variety of people.

But I am running into unnecessary length, because it is 3 you to whom I am writing. Of this however you may be sure, that not only I, who am not taken into council, but even our lord himself does not know what will happen, for we are the slaves of him, and he of circumstances; consequently he can no more know what circumstances will demand of him than we what he is thinking of doing. If I did not send you this answer before, it is not that I am generally neglectful, particularly in the matter of letters, but as I knew nothing for certain, I was unwilling either to create anxiety in you by my hesitation, or hope by my assertions. I will however add this, which is most unquestionably true, that as matters stand up to the present time I have heard nothing about that danger you allude to. Still, for a man of your wisdom this will be the right course—to hope for the best issue, be prepared for the hardest, and bear whatever is to happen.

XC. (AD FAM. IV. 4.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS
IN ACHAIA.

September or October, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Servius Sulpicius, to whom this letter is addressed, was consul together with Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose pardon by Caesar is here described, in the important year 51 B.C. (see Introd. to Letter xxxi.) He was a celebrated jurist and orator, but somewhat colourless politician of the 'moderate Conservative' party; and apparently took little or no part in the war. But Mr. Long's inference (Dict. Biog. iii. 946) that he was a partisan of Caesar, on the ground of his now being made—apparently against his own inclination—proconsul of Achaia, is not justified; Marcus Brutus, for example, having been made Governor of Cisalpine Gaul. See Introd. to Letter lxxxiii.; Merivale, ii. 340-342. And everything in the letter seems to show that he and Cicero agreed in their views. The province of Achaia, which must have been but recently separated from the unwieldy one of Macedonia, comprehended the whole of Southern Greece, and Sulpicius was not only its first Governor, but probably had the task of organising the province. Two letters

of Sulpicius are extant (Nos. xciii. and ci.), the former of which is the celebrated letter of consolation on Tullia's death; the other describes the murder of this Marcellus. Letter xcix. is addressed to him.

It is a disputed point whether the extant oration 'Pro Marcello' is the one actually delivered by Cicero on this occasion, but a majority of the commentators maintain its genuineness. See Tyrrell and Purser, iv. p. liii.

Long's Cicero (Bibliotheca Classica), vol. iv. pp. 349-352; Merivale, ii. 412, and note on Abeken, 330; Forsyth, 393.

1 I accept the excuse you have offered for yourself, for sending me the same letter more than once; but I only accept from the point of view of half the reason you give—namely, that the letters may possibly fail to reach me through some negligence or breach of faith on the part of those who undertake to despatch them. The other half of your plea, in which you allege that from 'poverty of language'—this is your own term—you often repeat the same letter over again, I neither understand nor admit as valid. Why, even I myself, whom you ironically—for so, I suppose, you mean it—describe as possessing 'the key to the treasures of language,' am not obliged to confess myself—for is there any call for a *fausse modestie*?—so absolutely devoid of a command of words: however, even as I am—there is no *fausse modestie*, I assure you, in this—I at once yield the palm to the refinement and elegance which characterise your writings.

2 Those grounds upon which you say you have acted in deciding not to refuse this work that has been offered you in Achaia, though they had always seemed to me to be strong, were yet much strengthened in my opinion after I had read your last letter; because every one of the reasons you allege is perfectly just, and perfectly in accordance with your high position and sound judgment. What I cannot at all sympathise with you in, is your opinion that the result has proved to be different from what you expected; but the fact is that the chaos and confusion is so universal, and everything is lying so shattered and beaten down by this horrible war, that everybody thinks that the particular place where he happens to be is, like himself, more afflicted than any other. Accordingly you not only regret your decision, but regard all of us at home as being fortunate; to us on the contrary you seem to be, not indeed exempt from annoyances, but still fortunate in

comparison with ourselves. Moreover this in itself is a point where your lot has an advantage over ours, that you can venture to speak of your annoyance in a letter; we cannot even do that with safety; not that for this our conqueror is to blame—it would be impossible to be more moderate than he is—but simply the fact of victory, which in a civil war is invariably tyrannical. In one respect only we have had 3 the advantage; namely in hearing of the restoration of your colleague Marcellus a little earlier than you, and also, I may add, upon my honour, the fact of seeing how that result was brought about. For believe me when I say that since these troubles began—that is since might was called in to decide a national question of right—this is the one dignified proceeding that has taken place. ~~For Caesar himself, after complaining of the ‘acrimony’—this was the word he used—of Marcellus,~~ and speaking in most complimentary terms of your fairness and discretion, suddenly announced his determination, which we scarcely hoped for, not to let his personal relations to Marcellus make him refuse the entreaty of the Senate on his behalf. I should say that when Lucius Piso had called attention to the case of Marcellus, and Gaius Marcellus¹ had gone on his knees to Caesar, the Senate went so far as to rise in a body, and approach Caesar in an attitude of entreaty. Well, I will only say that this day seemed to me so bright that there hovered, as it were, before my eyes a vision of the Republic springing into new life.

Consequently when all who had been asked to speak 4 before me² had expressed their gratitude to Caesar, with the exception of Volcatius,—he said that if he had been in the same place he would certainly not have done the like,³—I changed my resolution when called on for my opinion; for I had

¹ On the question whether this Gaius was the brother or the cousin of Marcus Marcellus see Letter xcvi. note 1.

² See Letter vi. note 7.

³ Lucius Volcatius Tullus, consul 66 B.C. This clause is understood by Orelli and Mattheiae to mean that had Volcatius been in Marcellus's place he would not have condescended to accept pardon from Caesar—a sentiment appropriate perhaps to Domitius, but utterly inappropriate to Volcatius, who was one of the neutrals. It is rather an expression of wonder at this generosity to an opponent who had treated Caesar with outrageous violence (see Introd. to Letter xxxi.), and perhaps of personal dislike for Marcellus.

quite determined, not, I may solemnly assure you, from indifference, but from regret at the loss of my former position, to maintain uninterrupted silence. This resolution of mine was broken down by Caesar's magnanimity and the loyalty of the Senate; and accordingly I spoke at some length of our gratitude to Caesar, and am afraid that now for other occasions I may thus have been putting out of my own power that retirement without disgrace, the possession of which was my one consolation under my troubles. ~~X~~ But all the same, since I have avoided the danger of giving offence to one who might perhaps infer that I do not recognise this as a Constitution at all if I preserved an absolute silence, I shall repeat the experiment with moderation—or even err on this side of moderation,—but only enough to gratify at once his sovereign will and my own inclinations. For although from my earliest years every form of study and of liberal accomplishments, and above all philosophy, has been my delight, yet day by day this passion is growing on me more—partly, I suppose, because age makes us riper to receive lessons of wisdom, and partly because of the corruption of the age—so that now there is nothing else at all
5 which can relieve my mind from petty cares. You, I gather from your letters, are hindered by business in your literary work, but still the nights will now be a considerable help to you.

Your son Servius (ought I not rather to call him my son too?) is most respectful in paying his attentions to me. I am as much delighted with his perfect integrity and elevation of character as with his tastes and great acquirements. He frequently comes to talk over with me the question of your staying or coming home. I am still of this opinion, that we ought to take no step at all, unless it is such as Caesar would seem most to wish; things are at such a pass that even if you are to be at Rome it can give no pleasure to any beyond your own personal friends. As for the rest, nothing could be better than he is in himself: his surroundings, persons and things, are of such a character that if you had to choose you would rather hear of them than see them with your own eyes. This advice of mine is anything but agreeable to myself, who long so much to see you; but it is your interests that I am consulting. Farewell,

XCI. (AD FAM. VI. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO AULUS CAECINA IN SICILY.

End of September, or early in October, 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Aulus Caecina of Volaterrae was a son of the Caecina defended in an ejection case by Cicero, whose speech is extant, in the year 69 B.C. He was the author of an important work on the Etruscan system of Augury (see § 3). During the war he published a vehement attack on Caesar; and as the opposition authors were now more dangerous than the opposition warriors, permission to return to Italy was refused to Caecina, Nigidius Figulus, and other pamphleteers, while it was readily accorded to the leading Pompeians. Caecina then published a retraction, probably in the form of a poem (see § 8, note 4); but whether it attained its object is doubtful.

The present letter and the answer to it are interesting in two points of view: first as illustrating the hardships of authors; and secondly because of Cicero's candid and striking admissions about the strong impression made on him by the unprecedented generosity of Caesar. 'I consider the key to much of Cicero's recent despondency, and the sudden rebound of cheerfulness which we observe at this time, to be the apprehension he was led by his study of earlier Roman history to entertain of slaughter and confiscation upon the establishment of Caesar's authority. It requires no little insight into the frightful character of the Roman revolutions to appreciate Caesar's merits in this respect, and the deep and lasting sense his countrymen entertained of it.'—Merivale, note to Abeken, 336.

Mommsen, iv. 462, 463; Long, v. ch. 29; Forsyth, 395. On the Etruscan and Chaldean arts of divination at Rome, see Merivale, iii. 11-16; Mommsen, iv. 562.

I am afraid you may feel the absence of those attentions ¹ in which, considering the many services you have done to me and the many tastes we have in common, I certainly ought never to be found wanting by you, yet cannot but fear that you may now be complaining of my neglect to pay you the attention of a letter. But I should have written to you long before now, and many a time too, if I had not preferred—being in daily expectation of better news—that congratulation, instead of encouragement to persevere, should be the subject of my letter. As it is, I hope to congratulate you before long, and so postpone that topic to a future letter. On the present ² occasion I think it incumbent upon me again and again to fortify your resolution, which stands, I hope and believe, still utterly

unimpaired, by all the influence of one who is among the truest, if not the wisest, of your friends. They will not indeed be such words as I should use to console you were you a man broken down and robbed of all hope of restoration ; but such as I may employ to one of whose entire recovery of rights I entertain no more doubt than you, I remember, did of mine. For when I was driven out from our country by a set of men who believed that while I still stood it was impossible for her to fall, I remember hearing from many of my acquaintances who called upon me on their way from Asia, where you were at the time, that you were confident of a striking and speedy
3 return for me. If a certain marvellous knowledge of the principles of Etruscan science, which you had inherited from your lamented and illustrious father, did not lead you astray, no more shall I be misled by that system of divination which I have mastered, partly from the writings and teachings of the wisest of minds, studied, as you yourself know, with unwearyed ardour, while part also is due to my long apprenticeship to practical politics, and the immense vicissitudes of fortune
4 which I have seen ; in which system of foretelling the future I have the more confidence, from the fact that, dark and distracted as are these times, it has never once deceived me in any single particular whatever. I would mention various things which I had predicted if I were not afraid that I should seem to be inventing them after the result; but there are many people who will at least bear me witness that my warning to Pompeius was at the beginning not to ally himself with Caesar, and afterwards not to break with him. I saw that an alliance between them broke down the power of the Senate, a rupture kindled a civil war. Moreover with Caesar I was on most intimate terms, for Pompeius I had the highest respect ; yet my advice, while perfectly loyal to Pompeius,
5 was salutary to both alike. Of other events which I foresaw I say nothing : I should not like one who has treated me in a way so deserving of gratitude even to suspect that I gave such advice to Pompeius that had he adopted it his opponent would be an eminent citizen, it is true, and the first man in the state, but would not possess the vast powers he now holds. I gave him my opinion that he ought to go to Spain ; if he had done

so, there would never have been a civil war at all.¹ I fought for the validity of the election of an absentee, not so much to legalise the principle as to maintain its observance, since the people had already enacted this law, which was championed by the consul himself.² When the pretext for war had arisen, when did I ever lose an opportunity for advice or remonstrance? Why I would choose the most unfair peace in preference to the fairest of wars. My advice was scouted, not so much by Pompeius himself, on whom it was making some impression, as by those who, having full confidence in Pompeius as a general, thought that a victory in this war would be singularly well adapted to the state of their fortunes and their greed of plunder. The war began; I took no part. It was shifted from Italy; still I remained behind as long as I could endure: but my sense of honour was too strong for my fears; I had a dread of failing Pompeius in his distress, while long ago he had not failed me in mine. Consequently when my sense of duty, or respect for the opinion of good citizens, or, if you like, the feeling of honour, was too strong for me, I too went, like Amphiaraus in the tragedies, knowingly and with my eyes open to

*'The grim fate that loomed upon my view;'*³

and in this war not a single misfortune has happened without my telling it beforehand.

You will admit then that—since I too, being a political augur, have first, after the manner of augurs and astrologers in general, established to your satisfaction my claims to a knowledge of augury and prophecy by an appeal to predictions which I have previously made—my method of predicting will now be entitled to your confidence. I give you an augury

¹ Contrast Letter xxxi. § 3: 'Pompeius is sure to go to Spain. I could not at all approve of this.' This shows how little we can trust Cicero's claim for the fulfilment of his predictions. The utter falsification again of his prediction about Caesar's cruelty and avarice, which were to rival Cinna and Sulla (Letter xliv. § 7), is acknowledged in this very letter.

² Pompeius, in his sole consulship, 52 B.C. See Introd. to Letter xxx.

³ Amphiaraus, knowing by the gift of prophecy that he must fall if he went against Thebes, concealed himself; but his hiding-place being betrayed by his wife Eriphyle, he joined at last in the fatal expedition. The quotation seems to be from some tragedy, perhaps the Eriphyle of Accius.

therefore ; but it is drawn neither from the motions of a bird whose flight is significant, nor from the notes of one with an ominous cry, as in our augural system, nor yet from the eagerness of the feeding, or the sound of the food as it drops on the ground : no, far different are those signs which are given to my observation, not more infallible indeed than the others, but at least not so full of darkness and perplexity.

8 Now the signs which I have to use for my predictions are noted by me on a sort of double system, one half of which I draw from observation of Caesar himself, the other from the nature and the theory of our present political relations. In Caesar I find as follows : a mild and forgiving disposition, as you have painted it in your beautiful work, the ‘Stanzas written in Dejection’ ;⁴ to this must be added the extraordinary pleasure he takes in talents of the highest order, such as are your own ; moreover he gives way to the wishes of any numerous body of people when they are reasonable and inspired by real warmth of regard, not merely frivolous or self-interested ; and in this case the unanimous feeling of Etruria
9 will influence him to an extreme degree. Why then have all these points done so little good hitherto ? Because he thinks that if he has once relented towards you, against whom he apparently has better grounds for resentment, he cannot resist the pleas of many others. Then you will say : ‘What hope have I of one who is so angry ? ’ He is not blind to the fact that he will have a copious draught of praises from the same fountain by which he has been—shall I say just a little bespattered ? Finally, he is a man of most acute judgment, and much foresight ; he perceives that you, as being by far the most eminent man in a part of Italy which it is impossible to ignore, and even in the whole of our commonwealth a match for any of the foremost men of your time, whether we look to talents, or influence, or popularity in the Roman world, cannot any longer be excluded from political life ; he will not like to

⁴ I have adopted Billerbeck’s conjecture, that the ‘Querellae’ of Caecina was an elegiac poem, of the same character as Ovid’s ‘Tristia.’ Caesar could hardly have been addressed in prose on this subject in any form but that of a letter ; and the title is much more appropriate to a poem.

leave this to be sooner or later the concession of time, instead of at the present moment making it his own.

So much as to Caesar. I will now say a word on the 10 nature of the times, and of circumstances round us. No human being is so bitter against the cause which Pompeius took up, with more spirit than prudence, as to dare to assert that we are either an unpatriotic or an unprincipled party. And speaking of this, I am constantly struck by the dignity, justice, and good sense of Caesar; he never speaks of Pompeius but with the deepest respect. But, you will say, he did many things against him, that is, in his public character, with great harshness. The things you allude to were the deeds of war and of victory, not of Caesar. Look how warmly he received us all. He has taken Cassius on to his own staff; he has made Brutus Governor of Gaul, and Sulpicius of Greece; Marcellus, with whom he was most indignant of all, he has recalled under such conditions as to give him the highest possible honour. What then is the drift of all these arguments? Why here is a case which neither the nature of things in general and of political vicissitudes will permit, nor will any system of government, be it the same as before or be it changed, endure; in the first place, that where all are equally involved in a cause, the same lot and measure should not be meted out to all alike; and secondly, that good men and good citizens, without a stain of disgrace on their character, should be forbidden to return to a country, to which so many have already returned though they were sentenced for infamous crimes.

Here then you have my prophecy, which had I the least 12 doubt about it I should not choose now to dwell upon instead of such topics of consolation as these, however easily with them I could cheer so stout-hearted a man as yourself: that if you had taken up arms for the cause of your country—for so you then regarded it—only when victory was already a certainty, you deserved no extraordinary credit; but if you had made up your mind that owing to the uncertainty of the issues and results of war it was a possible contingency that we might be defeated, it would be wrong for you to have made yourself fully prepared for success, while hopelessly unable to bear a

failure. I would argue too what a consolation the conscience of the way you have acted, and what a pleasure your studies ought to be to you under your misfortunes ; I would adduce the instances, not only from olden time but even in our recent experience, of heavy calamities that have befallen your own leaders or associates ; I would name many illustrious examples too among foreign nations ; because it soothes our pain to recollect that this is as it were a law under which we all live,
 13 and a condition of human life. I would enlarge to you too on the way in which we are living here—what a scene of confusion and utter chaos this is ; because we cannot but feel milder regret at being debarred from the political life of our country when it has been hopelessly corrupted than when it was sound. But all this kind of thing is quite unnecessary : very soon I hope—nay rather, I look upon it as certain—we shall see you here in the enjoyment of all your rights. Meanwhile I have long ago not only consented but volunteered to give the help of such zeal and loyalty, perseverance and energy as I may possess to your absent self, and your other self in mind and body now present with us here, I mean your devoted and excellent son. And my power herein is now enlarged by the fact that Caesar is making me most friendly advances—and I may even add that his friends are too—such as day by day are increasing in warmth, and are paid to no one else. Whatever influence or authority I find any power to exert with him I will exert in your service : it is for you to show that you bear yourself as one who has not only a resolute mind, but also the best of hopes.

XCII. (AD. FAM. VI. 7.)

FROM AULUS CAECINA IN SICILY TO CICERO AT ROME.

(A reply to the preceding letter.)

End of December (?), 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

1 If my book was not delivered to you so soon as you expected¹ you must pardon my fears, and allow some indulgence

¹ It is doubtful what this book is, but as it clearly contained a panegyric on

for my unhappy circumstances. My son, I am told, was afraid, and not unreasonably, that if the book had been allowed to appear—for the spirit in which it is written is not so important as that in which it is received—this fact might prove unreasonably injurious to me; and all the more because I am still paying heavily the penalty of authorship. And herein I am condemned to a destiny as yet unique; for while a slip of the pen is removed by an erosion, while incompetence is punished by publicity, my error is chastised by expatriation, when the sum of the offence amounts to this, that I spoke bitterly of an antagonist against whom I was actually fighting! There is 2 not one man amongst us, I suppose, who did not seek to woo the Goddess of Victory by his prayers; not one who even if his sacrifice was being offered with another object did not, ay and at that very moment, make it still his first prayer that Caesar might be very speedily mastered. If he is in ignorance of this, he is indeed in a state of perfect bliss: if he knows and is assured of it, why is he angry with a man who has written something or other to give him offence, when he has pardoned all those who have offered up many a prayer to the gods for his ruin?

But to come back to the point where I was, this was the 3 origin of my timidity; I have alluded to yourself in the book, with reserve and caution, I give you my word; not so much checking as, if I may say so, dreading myself. Now who does not know that this kind of composition in particular ought to be not merely unfettered, but impassioned and enthusiastic? It is supposed that to satirise your opponent leaves you a clear field—you have to take care however that you do not slip into libel; to praise yourself is hampered by the difficulty that the imputation of egotism may immediately follow; the only thing indeed that is really free, is for each to praise somebody else, since any faults you may find in him are sure to be put down to feebleness or jealousy. Perhaps, after all, this may be to you a more gratifying and appropriate way; for what I could not do really well, my best course was to leave entirely alone;

failing that [the kindest thing was], to be as chary of words as possible. Nevertheless, the fact is that I did hold myself in : there are many circumstances which I have toned down ; many which I have suppressed ; several I did not even put on paper at all. The consequence is that just as if in a flight of stairs you remove some, cut down others, and leave a few here and there just contriving to hang together, you will make not a thing for going up, but a likely means for tumbling down, exactly so where one's inspiration is at once fettered and crushed, what can it possibly produce that deserves a listener or can gain any approval ? But indeed, whenever I have come to Caesar's name I feel a fit of trembling all over ; not from fear of vengeance, but of his criticism, because I do not know Caesar thoroughly. What heart can a man have in it when he says to himself : 'He will be pleased with this ; that phrase is objectionable. Supposing I make such and such a change ? ' No, I am afraid it may make matters worse. Come now, 'this is complimentary to a certain individual ; can it really be regarded as an attack upon him ? Well, supposing it is 'an attack, what happens if he objects ? He takes vengeance 'on a foe still in arms for using a pen : what will he do if the 'foe is beaten and not yet brought back home ? ' You yourself add to my alarm, when in 'The Orator' you use Brutus as your shield, and in order to excuse yourself try to make him equally responsible with you. When the advocate of us all does this, what must I, who once depended on your advocacy, and do now on that of all my countrymen, be expected to feel ? In this forged indictment of terror therefore, this tormenting sense of blind suspicion, seeing that one is perpetually writing to suit the imaginary sentiments of another person, and not one's own judgment, we at any rate, even if you have had little experience of this, because your great and extraordinary talents have armed you completely at all points, feel how difficult it is to come out safely. Nevertheless I had already told my son he was to read my book to you and take it away again, or only give it to you on the condition that you would undertake to revise it, that is to say, if you would rewrite it entirely.

5 As for my going to Asia, though the necessity laid upon

me was most imperative, I have done as you have bidden. What need for me to plead with you on my own behalf? You see that the time is now come in which my fate must of necessity be determined. There is no reason, my dear Cicero, why you should wait for my son: he is but a lad; owing to prejudice, or inexperience, or timidity, he cannot possibly see all the arguments for every measure. It is only right that you should undertake the whole responsibility in this matter; my hopes rest entirely on you. You, with your judicious observation, already hold the knowledge of what things Caesar will be pleased with, what he will be persuaded by: it is necessary that everything should originate with you, and by you be carried through to the end. Your influence with himself is considerable; with all his creatures it is unequalled. If it ⁶ should be that you have come to the conclusion that your part consists not simply in doing anything for which you have been asked—though even that is noble and generous—but that the whole burden rests upon your shoulders, then you will carry it through; unless, as may be the case, I am from my misery too unreasonably, or from our intimacy too shamelessly thus imposing a burden upon you. But your life and habits offer me a defence against both accusations; for because you have made it a rule to spare no exertions on behalf of your friends, those who are most intimate with you do not now expect this from you; they demand it.

As for the book, which my son will let you have, do not, I entreat you, let it get abroad, or else correct it so that it may not do me any harm.²

² This paragraph (compare § 4, *totum alium faceres*) illustrates the way in which letters and other works were altered by critics before publication, even independently of the author himself. It is unfortunately impossible to ascertain how far this may have affected Cicero's own letters, but the fact should be remembered.

XCIII. (AD FAM. XIII. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS
IN CISALPINE GAUL.

708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

Marcus Brutus had now been made by Caesar (see Introd. to Letter lxxxiii.) Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, that is, of Northern Italy. It seems to have been customary for the Italian municipalities to invest the town funds in the purchase of land there, land in Italy not being very safe under the frequent allotments to veteran soldiers. This not very important letter may be considered as a set-off to the pressure put upon Cicero (Letters xxxvi. and xxxviii.) to support the outrageous conduct of Brutus to the Salaminians ; it is written to ask for special favour to the interest of Cicero's native town, Arpinum. On the great temptation to provincial governors under the Senatorial system to exercise their vast powers in favour of their private friends, see Introd. to Letter xv.

- 1 Noticing, as I always have done, that you are most careful not to be uninformed on any matter in which I am interested, I cannot in consequence doubt but that you are aware, not only what is my native borough, but also how eager I am to give any assistance to my fellow-citizens [of Arpinum]. The fact is that all their income and all the means they possess for keeping up public worship and preserving the fabric of their temples and public buildings in good repair consists in the revenues of their estates in the province of Gaul. We have despatched a commission, consisting of three Roman gentlemen of independent means—Quintus Fufidius the younger, Marcus Faucius the younger, and Quintus Mamercus the younger—to report upon these, and exact what is still owed to us by the tenants, and in short to inquire into and regulate the entire administration of them. My intimacy with you is an excuse for making it a particular request that you will take an interest in this business, and see that, so far as you are concerned, every facility may be given for the discharge and speedy settlement of this commission from our town ; and as to the commissioners whose names I have mentioned, that you would show them, as you, I know, would naturally be inclined to do, every possible mark of consideration and hospitality. While you will find that you have been adding some excellent men to

the roll of your acquaintance, and laying a most grateful municipality under a permanent obligation by this kindness, to myself you will have done what is even yet more gratifying, because though I have always made it a rule to regard myself as the patron of my fellow-townsmen, the present year has unusual claims upon my attention and my services. For this year, in order satisfactorily to complete the organising of the corporation, I recommended my son for election as an aedile, as also my nephew, and Marcus Caesius, one of my greatest friends, for that is the name of the magistrate—there are no others at all—that we always elect in our borough. And you will have been enhancing the reputation of all these, and especially of myself, if, thanks to the kind help and attention you have given, the organising of the corporation shall prove to have been satisfactorily dealt with. That you will do this I earnestly entreat you again and again.

XCIV. (AD FAM. IV. 14.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GNAEUS PLANCIUS IN CORCYRA.

Late in 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.) or beginning of 45 B.C.

Gnaeus Plancius had been quaestor of Macedonia at the time of Cicero's exile there in 58 B.C., and had thus been able to render him important services. (Letter xviii. § 3.) These Cicero repaid by successfully defending Plancius in an extant speech on his trial for bribery four years later. As one of the most vehement though not most distinguished Pompeians, Plancius was now living in exile in Corcyra (Corfu).

About this time Cicero divorced Terentia, to whom he had been married for thirty years, and soon after married his own ward, a young heiress named Publilia. The marriage was, as it deserved to be, an unhappy one; Cicero soon lived apart from his wife, whom he divorced in the very next year, and was to the end of his life hampered with difficulties about repaying her dowry. The true grounds of his behaviour to Terentia, with whom he had lived on most affectionate terms (see Letters xvii. xviii. xlvi. and lxxv.) until the Civil War, are difficult to ascertain, but he accused her, apparently unjustly, of having neglected him at that time, and mismanaged his property. Publilia's wealth was probably one of the chief considerations. According to St. Jerome, Terentia afterwards married, first the historian Sallust, and then Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus; and Dion Cassius says that one Vibius Rufus prided himself on the possession of two things—Cicero's wife (no doubt Publilia), and Caesar's chair!

Forsyth, 397-402 (Mr. Forsyth here criticises Middleton, who is anxious to lay the blame on Terentia); Abeken, 351, 361; Tyrrell and Purser, iv. p. xlvi.

1 I have received two letters from you, dated from Corcyra ; in one of which you congratulate me on the news that I hold my old position ; in the other you express your hopes that this step which I have taken may turn out well and happily. Well, as to myself, if there is any ‘position’ implied in holding true constitutional opinions, and gaining the approbation of all good constitutionalists for those opinions, I certainly hold my position. If, on the other hand, to hold a position in the State means to be able either to put your sentiments into practice, or to be able in the last resort to assert them with perfect freedom of speech, then I have not so much as a shadow of position left me ; and we are doing remarkably well if we can school ourselves to bear with moderation all that is either present or impending ; no such easy thing in a war of the kind, which holds this probability before our eyes, massacre from one side, slavery from the other.

2 Amid this danger however I find a certain consolation when I reflect that I saw all this as long ago as when I used to shiver at the thought of our success, not only of our defeat ; and saw at what a risk we were referring to the sword a point of constitutional law. Even if by it that party had proved victorious whose cause I adopted, not from any desire for war, but only from the hope of peace, I was still aware how ruthless the triumph of passionate, greedy, and insolent men would assuredly be ; while if on the contrary they should be defeated, it would make terrible havoc among my fellow-countrymen, some of them in high rank, some also most excellent men ; who nevertheless chose to think me, for forewarning them of these things, and giving them the best advice against the danger, rather over-cautious than moderately prudent.

3 As to your congratulations on the step I have taken, I am sure you really mean them ; but in these unhappy times I should never have chosen a new life for myself, had I not found on my return that my household was in no respect better off than our country itself. For it was only when I saw that those to whom my welfare and all that was mine ought above all to have been dear, for the undying acts of kindness I had shown them, were the very people whose wicked behaviour left nothing secure to me in my own house, nothing

free from treacherous snares, that I thought it necessary to protect myself by new and faithful ties against the perfidy of older friends.

But enough—perhaps even too much—about my own affairs. As to yours, I trust that your feeling will be what it ⁴ ought to be: I mean that you should regard yourself as having nothing to dread more than other people. For if our State is to continue to exist at all, whatever the form of it is to be, I see that you will be free from all possible dangers; because I notice that one party is already appeased with you, the other never was offended; while with respect to my own desire to help you, I trust that this is the conclusion you will form: that in anything which I can find any use for, though I am not blind to the truth about myself and the limits of my powers nowadays, still whether it be in exertions and advice, or at any rate in warmest sympathy, I shall be ready to assist your interests, your reputation, and your welfare. I should be glad if you would let me know without fail how you are doing now, and what you think you are likely to do.

XCV. (AD FAM. IV. II.)

FROM MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS AT MYTILENE TO CICERO
AT ROME.

Late in 708 A.V.C. (46 B.C.)

This letter is an answer to a lost one of congratulation from Cicero to Marcellus on his pardon by Caesar at the entreaty of the Senate. See Introd. to Letter xc.

You have good reason for believing that if your advice is ¹ always decisive with me, it has been so more particularly upon this occasion. Though my own kinsman,¹ Gaius Marcellus,

¹ It is not certain whether by *frater* Marcellus means his brother or his cousin. It must be remembered that three of the Marcelli were consuls in three successive years; Marcus, the writer of this letter, in 51 B.C.; Gaius, first cousin of Marcus and the other Gaius, in 50 B.C.; and Gaius, brother of Marcus, in 49 B.C. A majority of commentators think that the cousin, not the brother, is here meant, because nothing is heard of the latter after the year 48, and he is mentioned as dead in 43 (Cic. Phil. xi. 29). The word is cer-

who is most deeply attached to me, not only recommended, but even prayed and entreated, he could not persuade me, until your letter had the effect of making me adopt the course which you both recommend in preference to all others. Your letters describe to me how the matter was transacted. Although your congratulations are particularly valued by me, because they originate in the kindest feeling, yet it becomes to me a far more cheering and gratifying circumstance from the fact that, in such an extreme dearth of friends, connexions, and relations who would really wish for my recall, I have found you to be the one who longed for me most, and have given most extraordinary proofs of kindness. Other things are as you say, and I—times being what they were—was finding it easy to forego them all with equanimity; whereas this I hold to be so essential that without the warm regard of such good men and good friends no man can be said to live, whether he be in prosperity or in adversity. It is upon this therefore that I specially congratulate myself; you however, I promise you, shall have reason to see by my acts that your kindness has been bestowed upon one who is your most sincere friend.
Adieu.

XCVI. (AD ATT. XII. 21.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

March, 709 A. V. C. (45 B.C.)

This is the first letter in which the nominal coincides with the real date. Up to the time of Caesar's reform of the Calendar the year consisted of 355 days, with an extra month inserted at intervals at the arbitrary discretion of the Pontifices, who had managed this so badly that the true time was ninety days later than the civil reckoning. Caesar inserted three intercalary months, and made the civil year consist, as it has done ever since, of 365 days, with an extra day every fourth year. 46 B.C. is known as 'the year of confusion.' The year henceforth began with January instead of March.

On the complicated subject of this reform of the Calendar, about which

tainly used of a first cousin; e.g. Cicero, in the *Oratio post Red.* in *Sen. c. x.*, calls Metellus Nepos the *frater* of his enemy Clodius; but, on the other hand, it would be less likely to be so used where, as in this case, an ambiguity might arise. Compare Letter i. note 8; Dict. Biogr. ii. 933; Dict. Bible, i. 231; Watson on Letter xc. § 3; Abeken, 342; Tyrrell-Purser on Fam. iv. 7.

slightly different views are held, see Watson, Appendix viii. ; Dict. Ant. 231 ; Merivale, ii. 403-408 ; Mommsen, iv. 555 ; Long, v. 377 ; Abeken, 301 ; Forsyth, 390 ; Froude, Caesar, 482.

In the early part of this year, apparently in February, the heaviest blow of Cicero's life fell upon him in the death of his beloved daughter Tullia. In January, after the divorce from Dolabella, she gave birth to a child either at Rome (*Fam.* vi. 18) or Tusculum, after which her strength gradually sank. Cicero at first went to spend a month with Atticus at Ficulea, after which he retired to his estate in the beautiful little island of Astura, close to the Latian coast, not far from Antium.

Forsyth, 400-402 ; Abeken, 353, 354.

I have read Brutus's letter, and return it to you ; a careless ¹ answer truly to the points you had questioned. That however must be his own affair, though as to this at least his ignorance is discreditable ;¹ he imagines that Cato was the first to give an opinion in favour of execution, which had been expressed by all who had spoken with the exception of Caesar ; and also that as the proposal of Caesar himself, who spoke on that occasion in his place as a praetor, was so rigorous, those of the ex-consuls, Catulus, Servilius, both the Luculli, Curio, Torquatus, Lepidus, Gellius, Volcatius, Figulus, Cotta, Lucius Caesar, Gaius Piso, and even Manius Glabrio, and the consuls-elect, Silanus and Murena, were more lenient ! But why then divide for Cato's proposal ? Because it expressed the very same thing in fuller and clearer words. As for me, our author commends me for having 'brought the question before the House,' forsooth, not for having brought it to light, or used my influence with others, or even having made my own decision before I took their opinion ; all of which things were the very reason why the division resulted in favour of Cato's motion, just because he extolled them to the skies, and moved that they should be entered on the minutes. Whereas our friend actually thinks that he is paying me a very handsome tribute when he has written me down 'our excellent consul.' Why,

¹ The work which gave so much dissatisfaction to Cicero, who had lately published an encomium on Brutus, was a panegyric upon Cato. The controversy which raged, even under the new empire, over the grave of Cato is one of the most striking features of the time. Caesar himself entered the literary lists against Cicero and Brutus with a work entitled Anti-Cato. See Mommsen, iv. 448, 449 (Mommsen's harsh criticism of Cato has found less acceptance than almost any other portion of his great work) ; Merivale, ii. 449 ; Abeken, 344 ; Forsyth, 391.

has any unfriendly critic doled me out more meagre praise? As to your other points, what an answer it was for him to give! he merely begs that you will make the correction about the form of the decree. Had his secretary² pointed out the blunder to him he would at least have done this much. But again, this must be his own look-out.

2 As to these grounds, since you approve of my idea, make a bargain for me: you know the state of my means.³ If however anything is returned by Faberius there is no trouble about it, but even without him I think I can make a push for it. Those of Drusus are certainly for sale, as also possibly those of Lamia and Cassius; but we will have a meeting.

3 As to Terentia I cannot use more fitting terms than the words of your letter. Let duty be our first consideration: if we are to find that any injustice has been done, I should wish to feel that it is she who ought to be ashamed rather than I.

4 We must see about paying that £900 to Gaius Lollius's wife, Ovia. Eros says it is impossible without me; I suppose because I have got to accept some valuation, and hand it over to her. I wish he had told you, because if everything is really ready, as his letter tells me it is, and he is not playing me false in this very point, it was capable of being settled by you. Will you inquire into this and make some settlement?

5 When you call me to come back to the law-courts you are calling me to a place which I was beginning to shun even while there was happiness still left to me. For what have I to do with the courts when there is no show of justice, no

² *A librario* is a simple and probable emendation of Koch for *rario*, which is adopted by Baiter and Wesenberg.

³ Cicero was anxious to purchase some grounds across the Tiber in order to erect there a shrine to the memory of Tullia. This legal form of deification, besides being a testimony of his affection, would exempt him from the penalty for excessive expenditure on sepulchral monuments. Atticus however seems to have suggested various difficulties, and the shrine was probably never erected. Ad Att. xii. 35, 36; Forsyth, 401; Abeken, 356, 357. Mr. Forsyth mentions an essay in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, i. 370, on this shrine of Tullia, by the Abbé Mongault, the French translator of the letters to Atticus. Middleton appositely quotes the Book of Wisdom, xiv. 15: 'For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.'

Senate House ; when everywhere people keep forcing themselves on my eyes whom I cannot abide the sight of ? And as to the argument in your letter that people are ‘ insisting ’ that I shall live at Rome, and ‘ will not hear ’ of my stopping away, or your telling me for how long they are willing to make the concession, I may assure you it is no new thing for me to think more of you than of all those people put together. I do not even mean to undervalue myself, and prefer standing firmly by my own deliberate judgment rather than by that of every one except ourselves. And yet I am going no further than I find that our greatest philosophers allow, every one of the passages from whom that support this view I have not only read—though this in itself, that is, taking one’s medicine, shows a courageous patient at any rate—but have even transferred into my own compositions, which certainly was not like a crushed or broken spirit. Do not think of calling me back from such a regimen into your life of bustle, for fear of my having a relapse.

XCVII. (AD FAM. XIII. 16.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME (?) TO CAESAR IN SPAIN.

February (?), 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

After the great defeat of Thapsus only one more stand against Caesar was made by the Senatorial party, under the two sons of Pompeius, Gnaeus and Sextus. The theatre of war this time was Spain, whither Caesar marched with his usual promptness towards the end of the year 46 B.C. The details of this campaign are less known than any of the others ; but on the 17th of March a decisive though desperately contested battle was fought at Munda. This place is generally supposed to be Monda, between Malaga and Gibraltar ; but from the rather vague account in the *Bellum Hispanense*, appended to Caesar’s *Bellum Civile*, c. 30, *seqq.*, it appears to be near Cordova. There is a ruined town by the road to Granada, near Alcaudete. The abler brother Gnaeus was assassinated soon after the battle, while Sextus lived for a long time as a brigand in the mountains of Spain. (See Introd. to Letter cxxix.) Caesar returned to Rome in September.

This letter was evidently written before the arrival of news of the victory. It is simply a letter of recommendation in favour of one Apollonius, a freedman of Publius Crassus, the younger son of the triumvir, who fell with his father in the disastrous Parthian expedition of 53 B.C. Compare Letter xxvii., the remarks on which will apply to this one also.

Merivale, ii. 379-383 ; Abeken, 365 ; Long, v. ch. 30 ; Froude, Caesar, ch. 25.

- 1 Out of our whole nobility Publius Crassus was the youth for whom I had most regard ; and while I had always entertained good hopes of him even from his first entry into life, I began to have more than a good impression after I learnt the judgment which you had formed about him. Now even while he was alive I myself always esteemed and thought very highly of his freedman Apollonius, he being not only devoted to Crassus, but an admirable companion for his highest pursuits, and therefore always much beloved by him.
- 2 After Crassus's death however I thought him all the more worthy to be admitted to the confidence of an intimate friend from the fact that he used to regard it as a duty on his part to pay special respect and attention to all such people as had enjoyed his master's friendship, and to whom he had been dear. Not only therefore did he come out to me in Cilicia, where many a time both his loyalty and his sagacity were most valuable to me, but you also, I imagine, in the Alexandrian campaign found that, as far as zeal and fidelity can go, he
- 3 never failed you. And it is in the hope that you too are of my opinion in this that he, acting it is true principally on his own resolution, but also not without my advice, has set out now for Spain to join you. I did not however promise him a recommendation, not that I imagined it would not have any weight with you, but in the first place it seemed to me that no recommendation could be needed for one who has not only been in service with you, but who also for Crassus' sake may claim to be of the number of your friends ; moreover if he wanted to make use of recommendations I saw that he could gain his object just as well by means of other people : a little mention like this of my opinion about him I was very willing to give, because he himself made a great point of it, and also because I have found by experience that you do allow them to influence you.
- 4 What I know of him then is that he is a man of cultivation, who has always, even from his boyhood, had a taste for the most intellectual pursuits ; for while he was still a boy he used to be much at my house in company with the Stoic philosopher Diodotus,—one of the most profoundly learned, in my opinion, of men,—while now in his enthusiasm for your

achievements he is fired with the ambition of placing them on permanent record in the Greek language. That he is equal to this I believe : his talents are decided ; he possesses experience ; he has long been familiar with literary work and studies of the kind ; it is with him an intense ambition not to prove himself unworthy of the immortal fame which your deeds have won.

I give you this only as a statement of my own opinion about him, but you with your extraordinary insight will be far better able yourself to judge of the point. And yet after all my denial of it, I do recommend him to you ; any attention that you have shown him will be a peculiar gratification to myself.

XCVIII. (AD FAM. IV. 5.)

FROM SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS AT ATHENS TO CICERO
AT ASTURA.

March or April, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

On the death of Tullia Cicero received many letters of condolence from his friends, including Brutus, Atticus, and Luceius ; and even the great Dictator, though he was now engaged in quelling the last desperate struggle against his power in Spain, found time to do this act of kindness to one of his old opponents. The most celebrated of these, and perhaps better known than any single letter from the pen of Cicero himself, is the following graceful one from Sulpicius, who was now residing at Athens as Governor of Greece. (See Introd. to Letter xc.) ‘Sulpicius has drawn together in this admired letter whatever ‘human philosophy has of force to compose the perturbations of a mind under ‘the disquietude of severe afflictions. But it is evident that all arguments of the ‘sort here produced tend rather to silence the clamours of sorrow, than to soften ‘and subdue its anguish. It is a much more exalted philosophy indeed that ‘must supply the effectual remedies for this purpose ; to which no other but ‘that of Christianity alone will be found on the trial to be in any rational degree ‘sufficient.’—Melmoth.

Abeken, 355, 363 ; Forsyth, 403.

For some time after I had received the information of the 1 death of your daughter Tullia you may be sure that I felt it sadly and heavily, as much indeed as I was bound to do, and held that I shared that terrible loss with you. Had I indeed but been where you are, you on your part would not have found me neglectful, and I on mine should not have failed to

be with you and show you face to face what grief I feel. And though it is true that consolations of this nature are painful and distressing, because those [dear friends and relations] upon whom the task naturally devolves are themselves afflicted with a similar burden, and incapable even of attempting it without many tears, so that one would rather suppose them in need of the consolations of others for themselves than capable of doing this kind office to others, yet nevertheless I have decided to write to you briefly such reflexions as have occurred to me on the present occasion ; not that I imagine them to be ignored by you, but because it is possible that you may be hindered by your sorrow from seeing them as clearly as usual.

2 What reason is there why you should allow the private grief which has befallen you to distress you so terribly ? Recollect how fortune has hitherto dealt with us : how we have been bereft of all that ought to be no less dear to men than their own children—of country, position, rank, and every honourable office. If one more burden has now been laid upon you, could any addition be made to your pain ? Or is there any heart that having been trained in the school of such events ought not now to be steeled by use against emotion, and think everything after them to be comparatively light ?

3 Or it is for her sake, I suppose, that you are grieving ?¹ How many times must you have arrived at the same conclusion as that into which I too have frequently fallen, that in these days theirs is not the hardest lot who are permitted painlessly to exchange their life for the grave ! Now what was there at the present time that could attach her very strongly to life ? what fruition ? what hope ? what consolation for the soul ? The prospect of a wedded life with a husband

¹ It seems to be generally agreed that *credo* in an interrogative sentence is a solecism, though it apparently occurs both here and in *Lucre.* v. 175. Lachmann says flatly, *dici non potest*, and adopts the suggestion of Manutius, *at* for *an.* Munro in his *Lucretius* calls this 'a necessary correction,' but in the *Journal of Philology*, iv. 249, he thinks the mistake is in *credo*, for which he would read *Cicero*, to a contracted form of which he supposes the *do* of *doles* to have become attached. In *ib.* v. 52, Mr. J. E. Yonge criticises the suggestion, and defends the correction *at*. Tyrrell-Purser read *cedo*, 'tell me, which it is even more difficult to defend in this position than *credo*.

chosen from our young men of rank? Truly, one would think it was always in your power to choose a son-in law of a position suitable to your rank out of our young men, one to whose keeping you would feel you could safely entrust the happiness of a child! Or that of being a joyful mother of children, who would be happy in seeing them succeeding in life; able by their own exertions to maintain in its integrity all that was bequeathed them by their father; intending gradually to rise to all the highest offices of the state; and to use that liberty to which they were born for the good of their country and the service of their friends? Is there any one of these things that has not been taken away before it was given? But surely it is hard to give up one's children? It is hard; but² this is harder still—that they should bear and suffer what we are doing.

A circumstance which was such as to afford me no light ⁴ consolation I cannot but mention to you, in the hope that it may be allowed to contribute equally towards mitigating your grief. As I was returning from Asia, when sailing from Aegina in the direction of Megara, I began to look around me at the various places by which I was surrounded. Behind me was Aegina, in front Megara; on the right, the Piraeus, on the left, Corinth: all of them towns that in former days were most magnificent, but are now lying prostrate and in ruins before one's eyes. 'Ah me,' I began to reflect to myself, 'we poor feeble mortals, who can claim but a short life in comparison, complain as though wrong were done us if one of our number dies in the course of nature, or has met his death by violence; and here in one spot are lying stretched out before me the corpses of so many cities! Servius, be master of yourself, and remember that it is the lot of man to which you have been born.' Believe me, I found myself in no small degree strengthened by these reflexions.³ Let me advise you too,

² *Nisi* is probably used here in its colloquial meaning of 'but,' which is common in the comic poets (Terence, Andria, 660; Adelph. 153, 545, etc.) On the many parallels of Cicero's letters with the Comic Drama see an interesting discussion in Prof. Tyrrell's Introduction, i. 59-64.

³ Byron has alluded to this celebrated description in a passage (*Childe Harold*, iv. 44) which will be well worth comparing here *in extenso*:

'Wandering in youth I traced the path of him,
The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind.'

if you approve, to keep this thought well before your eyes. How lately at one and the same time have many of our most illustrious men fallen ! how grave an encroachment has been made on the rights of the sovereign people of Rome ! every province in the world has been convulsed with the shock : if the frail life of a tender woman has gone too, who being born to the common lot of man must needs have died in a few short years, even if the time had not come for her now, are you thus utterly stricken down ?⁴

5 Do you then also recall your feelings and your thoughts from dwelling on this subject, and, as beseems your character, rethink yourself rather of this : that she has lived as long as life was of value to her ; that she has passed away only together

The friend of Tully : as my bark did skim
 The bright blue waters with a fanning wind
 Came Megara before me, and behind
 Aegina lay, Piraeus on the right,
 And Corinth on the left : I lay reclined
 Along the prow, and saw all these unite
 In ruin, even as he had seen the desolate sight.

' For time hath not rebuilt them, but upreared
 Barbaric dwellings on their shattered site,
 Which only make more mourned and more endeared
 The few last rays of their far-scattered light,
 And the crushed relics of their vanished might.
 The Roman saw these tombs in his own age,
 These sepulchres of cities which excite
 Sad wonder, and his yet surviving page
 The moral lesson bears drawn from such pilgrimage.'

⁴ Melmoth compares this passage with Addison's Reflections in Westminster Abbey (*Spectator*, i. 26) : 'When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies within me ; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out ; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion ; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow ; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.' Both the similarity and the contrast of these two celebrated passages are in more than one respect instructive and important. Compare the criticism of Melmoth quoted in the Introduction to this letter.

with her country's freedom ; that she lived to see her father elected Praetor, Consul, Augur ; that she had been the wife of young men of the first rank ; that after enjoying wellnigh every blessing that life can offer she left it only when the Republic itself was falling. The account is closed, and what have you, what has she, to charge of injustice against Fate ? In a word, forget not that you are Cicero—that you are he who was always wont to guide others and give them good advice ; and be not like those quack physicians who when others are sick boast that they hold the key of the knowledge of medicine, to heal themselves are never able ; but rather minister to yourself with your own hand the remedies which you are in the habit of prescribing for others, and put them plainly before your own soul. There is no pain so great but 6 the lapse of time will lessen and assuage it : it is not like yourself to wait till this time comes instead of stepping forward by your philosophy to anticipate that result. And if even those who are low in the grave have any consciousness at all, such was her love for you and her tenderness for all around her, that surely she does not wish to see this in you. Make this a tribute then to her who is dead ; to all your friends and relations who are mourning in your grief ; and make it to your country also, that if in anything the need should arise she may be able to trust to your energy and guidance. Finally, since such is the condition we have come to that even this consideration must perforce be obeyed, do not let your conduct induce any one to believe that it is not so much your daughter as the circumstances of the Republic and the victory of others which you are deplored.

I shrink from writing to you at greater length upon this subject, lest I should seem to be doubtful of your own good sense ; allow me therefore to put before you one more consideration, and then I will bring my letter to a close. We have seen you not once but many times bearing prosperity most gracefully, and gaining yourself great reputation thereby : let us see at last that you are capable also of bearing adversity equally well, and that it is not in your eyes a heavier burden than it ought to seem ; lest we should think that of all the virtues this is the only one in which you are wanting.

As for myself, when I find you are more composed in mind I will send you information about all that is being done in these parts, and the state in which the province finds itself at present. Farewell.

XCIX. (AD FAM. IV. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA OR FICULEA TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS AT ATHENS.

(*In answer to the preceding Letter.*)

April (?), 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

1 Yes, my dear Servius, I could indeed wish you had been with me, as you say, at the time of my terrible trial. How much it was in your power to help me if you had been here by sympathising with, and, I may almost say, sharing equally in my grief I readily perceive from the fact that after reading your letter I now feel myself considerably more composed ; for not only was all that you wrote just what is best calculated to soothe affliction, but you yourself in comforting me showed that you too had no little pain at heart. Your son Servius however has made it clear by every kindly attention which such an occasion would permit of, both how great his respect was for myself, and also how much pleasure his kind feeling for me was likely to give you ; and you may be sure that, while such attentions from him have often been more pleasant to me, they have never seemed more grateful.

It is not however only your arguments and your equal share, I may almost call it, in this affliction which comforts me, but also your authority ; because I hold it shame in me not to be bearing my trouble in a way that you, a man endowed with such wisdom, think it ought to be borne. But at times I do feel broken down, and I scarcely make any struggle against my grief, because those consolations fail me which under similar calamities were never wanting to any of those other people whom I put before myself as models for imitation. Both Fabius Maximus, for example, when he lost a son who had held the consulship, the hero of many a famous exploit ; and Lucius Paulus, from whom two were taken in

one week ; and your own kinsman Gallus ; and Marcus Cato, who was deprived of a son of the rarest talents and the rarest virtue,—all these lived in times when their individual affliction was capable of finding a solace in the places of honour they were winning in public life. For me, however, after being 2 stripped of all those distinctions which you yourself recall to me, and which I had won for myself by unparalleled exertions, only that one solace remained which has been torn away. My thoughts were not diverted by work for my friends, or by the administration of affairs of state ; there was no pleasure in pleading in the courts ; I could not bear the very sight of the Senate House ; I felt, as was indeed too true, that I had lost all the harvest of both my industry and my success. But whenever I wanted to recollect that all this was shared with you and other friends I could name, and whenever I was breaking myself in and forcing my spirit to bear these things with patience, I always had a refuge to go to where I might find peace, one in whose words of comfort and sweet society I could rid me of all my pains and griefs. Whereas now under this terrible blow even those old wounds which seemed to have healed up are bleeding afresh ; for it is impossible for me now to find such a refuge from my sorrows at home in the business of the State, as in those days I did in that consolation of home which was always in store whenever I came away sad from thoughts of State, to seek for peace in its happiness. And so I stay away both from home and from public life ; because home now is no more able to make up for the sorrow I feel when I think of our country than our country is for my sorrow at home. I am therefore looking forward all 3 the more eagerly to your coming, and long to see you as early as that may possibly be : no greater alleviation can be offered me than a meeting between us for friendly intercourse and conversation. I hope however that your return is to take place, as I hear it is, very shortly. As for myself, while there are abundant reasons for wanting to see you as soon as possible my principal one is in order that we may discuss together beforehand the best method of conduct for present circumstances, which must entirely be adapted to the wishes of one man only, a man nevertheless who is far-seeing and generous,

and, also, as I think I have thoroughly ascertained, to me not at all ill-disposed and to you extremely friendly. But admitting this, it is still a matter for much deliberation what is the line, I do not say of action, but of keeping quiet, that we ought by his good leave and favour to adopt. Farewell.

C. (AD FAM. VI. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ASTURA OR FICULEA TO AULUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS AT ATHENS.

April, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Aulus Torquatus was an intimate friend of Cicero, now living in exile at Athens, he, like Caecina (Letter xci.), not yet having been allowed to return to Italy. It appears from *Ad Att.* xiii. 9; ib. 20, that he did come back not long after this date. Four letters from Cicero to him are extant (*Ad Fam.* vi. 1-4).

Abeken, 372.

1 I entreat you not to think it is because I have forgotten you that I do not write to you so often ; but that it is either from the low state of my health—which however I fancy has been rising a little,—or that I must then be away from town, and so have no opportunity of hearing when anybody is going out to you. I hope therefore you will always assume at once that I keep up a most affectionate recollection of you, and that everything which concerns you affects me no less than if it were happening to myself.

2 If your case has hitherto been subject to greater fluctuations than we all either hoped or thought probable, I assure you that under the evil circumstances of the times you have no reason to complain. For it is inevitable that either the country must groan under an interminable war ; or when it is concluded she must at length recover herself ; or she must be utterly extinguished. If arms are to prevail, you have no cause for fear either from those who will admit you to grace, or from those whom you have supported ; if arms are laid aside because terms have been made, or are flung aside in sheer weariness, or wrested away by some victory, and so the State has gained breathing-time, then you will have full permission to enjoy the rights both of your position and property. If on the other hand all should be utterly lost, and if once that catastrophe

has come about which Marcus Antonius, one of the most sagacious of men, used even then to apprehend when he foreboded all these evils in store for us, then you have at any rate this consolation—a wretched one it is true, especially for one who is what he is both to his country and his friends, but which nevertheless is forced upon us—that what is the common lot of all cannot be a special grief to any individual in particular. If you will earnestly weigh—as you are doing now—the force that is contained in these few words (it was not well to put more into a letter), you will surely see, even without my telling you, that while you have a fair amount of grounds for hope, you have none under either this or any conceivable form of government for fear: and if it should prove that all is lost, inasmuch as—even were it offered—you would never consent to be the survivor of your country's freedom, that we must bear our lot, particularly be it one that is outside reproach. But enough of this. I hope you will write to me how you are going on, and where you are likely to be, so that I may know where to write, or where to come to you.

CL. (AD FAM. IV. 12.)

FROM SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS AT ATHENS TO CICERO
AT ASTURA.

May 31, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

This interesting letter from Sulpicius describes the assassination of Marcus Marcellus, who was now about to return from exile (see Letters xc. and xv.), by P. Magius Cilo, one of his own clients. It appears from Ad Att. xiii. 10 that some people foolishly attempted to throw suspicion upon Caesar, who was still in Spain, as the instigator of the crime, but this was refuted by the immediate suicide of the assassin. Cicero expressed to Atticus his belief that the deed was done by Magius in a sudden fit of rage at the refusal of a loan.

Abeken, 372; Forsyth, 404. Compare Merivale, ii. 399. But surely assassination was much less common than would be inferred from this passage of Dean Merivale, except when a reformer was murdered by the oligarchy. Indeed, considering the very unsatisfactory administration of justice at this period, the rare use of the dagger by the Roman contrasts very favourably with its frequency among modern Italians.

Though I am aware that I have to communicate to you anything but pleasant news, still since chance no less than

nature lords it over our lives I decided, be the circumstances what they might [that I was bound], to give you information of them.

On the 23rd of May I landed at the Piraeus from Epidaurus,¹ and finding my old colleague² Marcellus there I spent a day in the place to enjoy his company. When I parted from him the next day with the intention of going from Athens into Boeotia and finishing the rest of my judicial business, he was intending, as he told me, to sail round Malea³ to or in the direction of Italy. Two days after this date, I being then just about to arrange for starting from Athens, about three o'clock or so in the morning⁴ Publius Postumius, a friend of his, came to me and brought me the news that our colleague, Marcus Marcellus, had been stabbed after dinner-time by one of his friends, Publius Magius Cilo. He had received two wounds, one in the stomach,⁵ the other on the head just by the ear, but still it was hoped that he might possibly recover: Magius had subsequently committed suicide. He himself had been sent to me by Marcellus to bring this news, and ask that I would summon my own physicians. I summoned them, and started at once for the place just as day was breaking. When I was only a short distance from the Piraeus I met a slave of Acidinus coming with a note, in which it was stated that a little before daybreak Marcellus had breathed his last. So one of the noblest of men has fallen a victim to a most untimely death at the hand of one of the vilest; to one whom his very enemies had spared for his worth a friend had been found to deal the death-blow!

3 However I continued on my way to his pavilion. I found only two of his freedmen and a mere handful of slaves; the

¹ An important town on the east coast of Argolis. Sulpicius had been there on circuit as Governor of Greece.

² Or possibly *our* colleague as Augur. But compare Letter xc. § 3, which, as Mr. Watson says, rather suggests the former. In the next sentence, on the other hand, the juxtaposition of *mihi* rather makes for 'our.'

³ The south-east promontory of Laconia, now Cape Malia. It was much dreaded by sailors. Aen. v. 193.

⁴ See Letter xxiii. note 3.

⁵ *Stomachus* occasionally retains its earlier meaning, the usual one in Greek, of 'gullet,' or 'throat' (Cic. Nat. Deor. ii. 54), and it may have that meaning here, but the later usage is more probable.

rest had fled they told me in a panic of terror because their master had been slain in front of his own pavilion.⁶ I was forced to use the very sedan-chair in which I had myself been carried there and my own bearers to bring him back to the city; where I took care that, as far as the available means at Athens would allow, he should have a sufficiently sumptuous funeral. I could not prevail on the Athenians to allow a burial-place within the walls of the city, because it was forbidden, so they said, by their ceremonial law (I must admit as a fact that this never had been conceded to any one before);⁷ the next privilege to that, namely the right of burying him in any of the Gymnasia we thought proper, they did grant. I have chosen a place in the Academy, the noblest training-school in the whole world, where I have burnt his remains, and have since then given instructions that the people of Athens should also provide for the erection of a marble monument to his memory on the same spot. I have therefore now paid to him in death as in life all those duties that were to be expected from one who had been both his colleague and his close friend. Farewell.

Athens, May 31.

⁶ The Piraeus was at this time in ruins (see Letter xciii. § 4), so that a tent or pavilion had to be erected. The terror of the slaves arose from the merciless severity of the law towards them in the case of a murdered Roman. Tacitus says on the murder of Pedanius Secundus in the reign of Nero (Ann. xiv. 42), that, 'according to ancient custom, the whole family of slaves abiding at the time under the roof are subject by law to capital punishment.' And the same rigour 'for the vindication of justice and security' was extended to the freedmen also (Ann. xiii. 32).

⁷ This interesting passage shows, as Mr. Long justly points out, the toleration of the Romans for the national and religious customs of the different people in their empire. In this respect indeed the Romans were often superior to the most enlightened of modern imperial States.

CII. (AD FAM. XIII. 4.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA THE YOUNGER, LAND-COMMISSIONER FOR ITALY.

October, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Quintus Valerius Orca, an ex-praetor, had been placed by Caesar, as a moderate and respectable politician, upon his new commission for the assignation of lands to his veterans. The immediate result of such an appointment, like a proconsulship (see Letter xv.), was a shower of letters from more or less powerful people, endeavouring to make interest on behalf of some individual or place, and those towns fared badly which had no powerful patron at Rome. Cicero wrote similar letters to Cluvius on behalf of Atella (Ad Fam. xiii. 7); to Rutilius on behalf of a friend, Albinus (xiii. 8); and to Valerius Orca again for the estate of Curtius (xiii. 5).

Volaterrae (Volterra), one of the most ancient and famous cities of Etruria, on behalf of which the present appeal is made, was exposed to peculiar dangers. Owing to its sturdy support of Marius its lands had been confiscated by Sulla, though never actually divided, and this Cicero puts forward as constituting a claim upon Caesar. Cicero's patronage of the town began with his pleading for their rights as Roman citizens, from which Sulla had excluded them in his consulship, 63 B.C.; but he successfully defended them a second time against the agrarian law of Flavius in 60 (see Letter ix. § 6; x. § 1). It seems most probable also that he was again successful in this appeal.

Mommsen, iv. 527, 528; Merivale, ii. 394-396; Dict. Geogr. ii. 1319. The name of Valerius Orca is accidentally omitted in the Dictionary of Biography.

- 1 Between the good townsfolk of Volaterrae and myself there exists a tie of the warmest attachment, because having been under very considerable obligations to me they have most abundantly repaid them, nor have they ever failed me either in my triumphs or my struggles. And even if I had no such relation with them, my very warm affection for yourself and my sense of your high esteem for me would still induce me to offer you the advice and earnest appeal to do the best you can for their interests, particularly as they have almost the primary claim to protection of their rights: first because, by a providential intervention, they somehow managed to escape from the barbarities of Sulla's time; and secondly because it was with enthusiastic sympathy from the people of Rome that they were
- 2 defended by me in my consulship. For the tribunes having proposed a most iniquitous bill affecting their lands, I without

difficulty convinced both the Senate and people that it ought to be our pleasure to respect the rights of citizens for whom the Goddess Fortune had shown such kindness. The line which I thus took received the sanction of Caesar in the Land Act of his first consulship, and he exempted the town and district of Volaterrae from liability to such proposals for ever ; so that I have no doubt but that he, being a man who is continually forming new connexions, would wish the privileges he long ago granted to be maintained. Consequently it will only be in accordance with your discretion either to follow the authority of one amongst whose followers you have ranked yourself and whose orders you obey, though with perfect self-respect, or at least to leave the case entirely open for his decision. About this, at any rate, you ought to have no hesitation : that it would be desirable by so great a kindness on your part to attach for ever to your interests a town so consistent, so staunch,¹ and so distinguished.

But so far I have only been writing with the view of 3 convincing or persuading you ; what remains for me to say is rather by way of petition, so that you may not suppose it is for your sake only that I am thus advising you, but that it is also a favour to myself, and one that I feel obliged to ask, for which I now am pleading with you. Let me say then that you will have done me the most acceptable of services when you have given your consent to leaving the people of Volaterrae entirely untouched, and with undiminished rights. Their houses and lands, their rights and properties, which have, with enthusiastic approval from the Roman Senate and People, been spared to them by the will of a good providence and of the most illustrious citizens of our Republic, I commend to your honour, your justice, and your humanity. If circumstances 4 would but give me an opportunity of protecting the Volaterrans against the present emergency in any way to be compared with the power I used to have of throwing my shield over my friends, there is no tribute I could pay them, no sort of encounter even that I would decline. But since I am well assured that my influence with you at the present time is as great as it has

¹ *Firmum* may mean 'strong in resources,' as Manutius renders it.

never failed to be with all [good patriots], I entreat you for the sake of our intimate friendship, and the cordial liking that each of us feels is equally reciprocated by the other, to give the Volaterrans such reason for gratitude that they may look upon it almost as a providentially ordered circumstance that the person who was appointed to execute this commission on which you are engaged is the very one on whom I, their constant patron, was able to exercise most influence.

CIII. (AD FAM. XII. 18.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS IN ASIA

Late in 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

Fourteen of Cicero's letters (*Ad Fam.* xii. 17-30), including also Nos. cxix. and cxxiv., are addressed to Cornificius, a son of the person of that name mentioned in i. § 1; vi. § 3; with whom, though he was a member of the Caesarian party, Cicero always remained on friendly terms. After the battle of Pharsalus Cornificius was made Governor of Illyria, but being an energetic and capable officer was before long transferred to the troubled province of Syria, where Quintus Caecilius Bassus was now raising a formidable insurrection against Caesar. At the date of this letter Cornificius was apparently in the East (*Ad Fam.* xiii. 17, 1), and uncertain about undertaking the government of Syria. He must however either have refused it, or held it only for a very short time, since in the next year he was Governor of the old province of Africa. He is called the colleague of Cicero, and of Antonius (*Letter cxxiv.*), probably as Augur.

From a passage of Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* iii. 1, 21; cf. ix. 3, 98), Cornificius has been thought, but perhaps erroneously, to be the author of the 'Rhetorica ad Herennium' usually included with Cicero's works.

Dict. Biogr. i. 857, 727; *Merivale*, ii. 383; *Abeken*, 368.

1 It was what came last in the letter I have just received from you which I now intend to answer first, because I have noticed that this is what you great orators sometimes do. 'Where are the letters I am expecting from you?' Why I have never failed to send one, when I have had notice from your friends that somebody was starting. As for what I gather, if I am not mistaken, from your letter, that you would not take any imprudent step, nor make your final decision before you had ascertained what the pranks of that creature—Caecilius Bassus, or whatever his name is—would end in, this is no

more than my confidence in your judgment had already led me to expect ; and then again you made me perfectly at rest about it by writing a most welcome letter. Do this as often as possible, I earnestly entreat you, so that I may have the opportunity of learning how you yourself and how everything is going on, and also what you propose to do.

Although I only submitted with very great regret to your going away from us, still I used always to console myself by the belief I then had that you were not only passing at once into a scene of absolute tranquillity, but from one where terrible troubles were impending. Both cases have been exactly reversed, for in your parts war has just broken out, in ours it has been followed by a peace, but still a peace of such a nature that you, were you here, would find much in it that would be far from pleasing ; things however, I must admit, with which Caesar himself is not satisfied, because this is always the result of civil war, not to bring about simply what the conqueror wishes, but also to make it necessary to propitiate those by whose assistance the victory has been won. For my own part I have now got so totally callous that at Caesar's games I could with supreme indifference see Titus Plancus making a show of himself, or hear the compositions of Laberius and Publilius.¹ I can assure you there is nothing I miss so much as a friend with whom to enjoy in confidence a philosophic laugh at it all. You will be the man if you arrive

¹ In the games given by Caesar after Munda several *Eques*, of whom Titus Plancus, lately recalled by Caesar, may have been one, took part in the performance ; and Laberius was requested to enter into public competition, and paid for doing so. Mr. Watson goes too far when he speaks of 'the badness' instead of the roughness, of the poems of Laberius. 'Full of pungent delineation of character, in language and metre they exhibited the hand of a master.'—Mommsen, iv. 581, and compare p. 456; Merivale, ii. 427; Abeken, 369; Diet. Biogr. ii. 695. It was a sufficient cause for disgust that a Roman gentleman should himself act or recite on the stage. This however, it is true, does not apply to Publilius Syrus (Publius is an incorrect form), and I now think it is possible that Cicero, whose critical judgment was easily swayed by prejudice, may really intend a sneer at Laberius, owing to a shrewd rap he received on this occasion. As Laberius was sulkily returning to the equestrian seats, Cicero called out from the senatorial stalls : 'If we were not so crowded here, Laberius' (a sarcasm on Caesar's recent 'peerages'), 'I would make room for you.' 'It is a wonder you should be crowded, Cicero,' replied Laberius, 'because you generally sit on two stools.'—Macrobius, Sat. ii. 3. 10.

as speedily as possible ; and I think it will be not only to my interest, but your own also, that you should do so

CIV. (AD ATT. XIII. 52.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI (?) TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

December 19, 709 A.V.C. (45 B.C.)

This well-known and interesting letter describes a visit paid to Cicero by Caesar, who had recently returned from Spain. It was probably at Puteoli, in the neighbourhood of which Caesar was staying during the Saturnalia with Lucius Marius Philippus, his niece's husband. The letter is written in a style which more resembles those of an earlier period than was usual with Cicero at this date, and contains allusions, especially the one about Mamurra, which are very difficult to explain. From what place it is dated is not clear : Mr. Watson and Profs. Tyrrell and Purser say Puteoli ; Boot that it was certainly not from Puteoli or Tusculum, but perhaps from Forniae, and this seems to be adopted by Munro ; Heberden from Astura.

Merivale, ii. 433 ; Abeken, 370 ; Long, v. 424 ; Forsyth, 411 ; Munro, Criticisms on Catullus, 80-95.

1 Oh, what a formidable guest to have had ! and yet *je ne m'en plains pas*, because he was in a very agreeable mood. But after his arrival at Philippus's house on the evening of the second day of the Saturnalia the whole establishment was so crowded with soldiers that even the room where Caesar himself was to dine could hardly be kept clear from them ; it is a fact that there were two thousand men ! Of course I was nervous about what might be the case with me next day, and so Cassius Barba came to my assistance ; he set some men on guard. The camp was pitched out of doors ; my villa was made secure. On the third day of the Saturnalia he stayed at Philippus's till near one,¹ and admitted nobody (accounts with Balbus, I suppose) ; then took a walk on the beach. After two to the bath : then he heard about Mamurra ; he made no objection.² After the toilet he sat down to dinner. He

¹ See Letter xxiii. note 3. The Saturnalia began Dec. 17.

² Aulus Mamurra was commandant of the engineers in Caesar's army in Gaul. This allusion to him is very obscure, and is explained in various ways. The old one, adopted, among others, by Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Parry, Abeken, and Heberden, is to refer it to the terrible epigrams of Catullus (especially xxix. and lvii.) on Mamurra and Caesar himself. Compare Ellis, Notes on Catullus,

was under the ‘emetic cure,’³ and consequently he ate and drank *sans peur*, and with much satisfaction. And certainly everything was very good, and well served ; nay more, I may say that

‘ Though the cook was good,
'Twas Attic salt that flavoured best the food.’⁴

There were three dining rooms besides, where there was a ² very hospitable reception for the gentlemen of his *suite* ; while the inferior class of freedmen and slaves had abundance at any rate ; for as to the better class, they had a more refined table. In short, I think I acquitted myself like a man.⁵ The

p. 75 ; Mommsen, iv. 321. But this explanation is made almost impossible by the fact that the epigrams on Mamurra had been written for ten years, and that Catullus was now probably dead ; it may therefore be finally rejected. Manutius explains it that Mamurra had been convicted of transgressing the sumptuary laws (compare the mention of him in Letter xliv. § 6), which Caesar strictly enforced, and this Mr. Watson, though doubtfully, adopts. Boot inclines to the idea that it was the mention of Mamurra’s death ; and Munro (on Catullus) refuses to decide between these two interpretations. The meaning of *non mutavit* of course depends on the explanation adopted : some inferior MSS. and a few editions insert the word *volum*, which rather favours the latter. Boot suggests *non mutavit*, ‘he made not a sound.’

³ Mr. Goldwin Smith in an interesting article on ‘The Last Republicans of Rome’ (Macmillan’s Magazine, April 1868), mistranslates the imperfect tense, ‘we find the great man, when he is the guest of Cicero, *preparing himself for* the pleasures of the table by taking an emetic,’ and makes it a charge of gluttony against Caesar. The real truth is, as Munro (Criticisms on Catullus, p. 92) has shown, that this was the common medical prescription of the time for all ailments, just as emetics, purges, and letting blood were in our own country even fifty years ago. Cicero speaks of it without the least surprise, both here and in Pro Rege Deiotaro, vii. 21. Indeed against Caesar a charge of this kind is grotesque, seeing that he was, by the universal testimony of both friends and enemies, very sparing in the use of wine, and utterly indifferent to the pleasures of the table. See Suetonius, Iulius, cc. 53 and 63 ; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 41 ; Munro, *I.c.* ; Mommsen, iv. 451 ; Merivale, iii. 7 ; Long, v. 424, etc. Greek is used here simply because it is a medical term. See Letter lxxv. note 1. ἐμετικὸν (Peerlkamp, adopted by Munro) is more probable than ἐμετικῆν.

⁴ A line from Lucilius, quoted also in the De Finibus, ii. 25. *Sermone* may either be an ablative of the instrument after *cocto*, *condito* (as I have rendered it), or a descriptive ablative parallel to them.

⁵ This rendering, adopted by most commentators, which refers the sentence to Cicero himself alone, seems preferable to that of Profs. Tyrrell and Purser : ‘we were quite friendly ;’ Caesar did not ‘assume the god.’ The preceding words refer only to Cicero’s providing as host ; his account of the entertainment itself does not come till afterwards.

guest however was not the sort of person to whom you would say ‘I shall be most delighted if you will come here again on your way back;’ once is enough. Nothing was said *au grand sérieux*; much on ‘literary’ chat. In short, he was greatly pleased, and seemed to enjoy himself. He told me that he should be one day at Puteoli, and the next near Baiae. Here you have the story of his visit—or, I may call it, his *billetting*—which, as I told you, was a thing one would shrink from, but did not give much trouble. I am for Tusculum next after a short stay here.

When he was passing Dolabella’s house, but nowhere else, the whole guard was paraded in arms on either side of him **as** he rode; I have this from Nicias.

PART V.

THE CLOSE OF CICERO'S LIFE.



PART V.

FROM THE DEATH OF CAESAR (MARCH 15, 44 B.C.) TO THE
DEATH OF CICERO (DECEMBER 7, 43 B.C.)

CV. (AD ATT. XIV. I.)

FROM CICERO AT THE HOUSE OF MATIUS NEAR ROME TO
ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 7, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

On the Ides (15th) of March, 44 B.C., the great Dictator was murdered in the Senate House, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius. The conspiracy against his life included from sixty to eighty members, many of whom had been prominent Caesarians in the Civil War. The most active was Gaius Cassius Longinus, one of the praetors; but Marcus Junius Brutus, now praetor or warden of the city, has attained even greater notoriety, partly from the additional horror which was given by the belief, though probably unfounded, that he was Caesar's own son.¹ The most noteworthy of the other members were Decimus Junius Brutus, who had been one of Caesar's most trusted generals, and Gaius Trebonius, who had just been consul. The objects of the conspirators were no doubt various, and probably some really regarded his murder as tyrannicide, and necessary for liberty, but the chiefs of the conspiracy seem by general testimony to have been actuated by most unworthy motives of jealousy, cupidity, or disappointment. The most favourable criticism of their action worth notice is Mr. Goldwin Smith's article on 'The

¹ The well-known *Et tu, Brute*, rests on no authority. Mr. Goldwin Smith suggests that, if said at all, it was said not to Marcus, but to Decimus Brutus, who was one of Caesar's best generals. But *καὶ σὺ τέκνον*, is the expression reported by Dion Cassius and Suetonius, which obviously refers to the scandal about Caesar's *liaison* with Marcus Brutus' mother, Servilia. Caesar however was only fifteen when Brutus was born, or perhaps seventeen, if with Mommsen (iv. 15) we place his birth in 102, and Brutus, who was much attached to his mother, certainly did not believe it. See Merivale, ii. 457; Froude, Caesar, 516; Letter xiii. note 3.

Last Republicans of Rome' (Macmillan's Magazine, April 1868) : a much sterner judgment is passed by Dean Merivale, vol. ii. ch. 21.

Cicero was not taken into the plot ; see the opening sentence of Letters cxxvi. and cxxvii. Plutarch no doubt gives the true reason, which would have amazed Cicero himself, that 'they feared his character as being too timid.' —Plut. Cic. xvii. 42. He was perhaps however an eye-witness of the murder (see *Ad Att. xiv. 14*, '*oculis cepi*'). His letters generally express a satisfaction which, after Caesar's great generosity to him and his profuse, if not servile acknowledgment of it, is nothing less than ferocious ; and no portion of the whole collection of his letters exhibits his character in so unpleasant a light as those of this year. But he soon discovered, what ought to have been obvious before, that the conspirators had 'done away with the king, but not with the kingdom.'

The attitude of the people was at first one of simple stupefaction, but it was soon clear that the conspirators met with no sympathy from them, and they were forced to entrench themselves in the Capitol. The most powerful men in the city before the arrival of Octavianus, Caesar's intended heir, were Marcus Antonius, the surviving consul, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, afterwards the third of the Triumvirs. Antonius, as consul, at once seized the enormous treasure amassed in the temple of Ops, and his power was very greatly increased by receiving from Caesar's widow, Calpurnia, the disposal of her husband's money and private papers. A hollow peace was patched up between the two parties, but the real weakness of the conspirators became evident, and most of them soon fled from Rome. Octavianus landed in Italy about a month after the murder, at once assumed the name of Caesar, to which he was entitled as the adopted son and heir of the Dictator, and announced his intention of claiming his inheritance. From this time forward he becomes one of the central figures in the very intricate drama that was to be played.

Merivale, ii. ch. 21 and iii. ch. 24 ; Long, v. ch. 33, 34 ; Abeken, 375-386 ; Forsyth, 414-427.

This letter is written from the suburban house of Gaius Matius Calvena, who though a warm and disinterested supporter of Caesar, even after his death, yet remained on most friendly terms with Cicero. For more about Matius see Introd. to Letter cxiii. 'The date, April 7, is made probable by a comparison of *Ad Att. xiv. 2, 4*, with *xiv. 5, 3*.'—Watson.

1 I have come on a visit to the subject of our conversation this morning. Nothing could be more shocking. 'The entanglement was hopeless : for if so great a genius could find no way out of it, who will find it now ? In short all,' he said, 'was lost.' And I am not sure but that he may be right, only he says it with satisfaction, and is positive about a rising in Gaul before three weeks are over. As for himself, 'since the Ides of March he had not entered into conversation with anybody at all except Lepidus,' and the summary was that 'it would be impossible for such deeds to get off so lightly.' Oh, for your delicacy, Oppius ! He grieves for his friend just as

truly, and yet never says a word that could offend any good patriot. But enough of this. Please do not think it a trouble ² to write me any news there may be—there is much indeed that I am expecting to hear ;—among other things whether it is fully known about Sextus Pompeius, and above all what about our friend Brutus ? As to him indeed, I hear from the friend with whom I am staying that Caesar used to say, ‘ It makes all the difference what our friend sets his heart on, but whatever he does it is with his whole heart ;’ and that he had impressed him with this characteristic in his speech for Deiotarus ² at Nicaea ; he seemed to be speaking with such extreme vehemence and freedom from restraint. Another fact—for I like jotting anything down just as it occurs to me :—quite recently when I called upon him at the entreaty of Sestius, and was sitting there waiting till I should be summoned, they say he remarked : ‘ Can I have any doubt but that I must be intensely disliked when Marcus Cicero is sitting there, and cannot come in and see me at his own convenience ? Yet if anybody is easy-tempered it is he ; but for all that I have no doubt he hates me bitterly.’ This and plenty more of the kind for you. But to my point :³ will you write anything, whatever it is, not only an important thing, but any little one as well ? I for my part will omit nothing at all.

CVI. (AD ATT. XIV. 2.)

FROM CICERO IN THE SUBURBS TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 8, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

I received two letters from you yesterday : from the first I ¹ heard about Publius Syrus¹ and the theatre—capital signs that the people are with us : to applaud Lucius Cassius however struck me as quite charming.² The second letter is the one ²

² King of Galatia. He was also defended by Cicero in an extant speech on the charge of attempting Caesar's life. (Letter cviii. § 1.)

³ Compare Letter lx. note 1.

¹ See Letter ciii. note 1.

² Some applause was apparently given to the conspirators at the theatre, probably on the occasion of the Megalesian games, April 5, when a piece of

you wrote about ‘the Baldhead’; but there was nothing of this at his house, as you seem to think, for I did go on some way, though not for so long a time as I meant, because his conversation detained me.³

As to what I wrote to you, perhaps rather enigmatically, it comes to this. He told me that Caesar had said in his presence, because I was sitting waiting on that occasion when I called upon him at the entreaty of Sestius, ‘Can I possibly be such a fool now as to believe that even this easy-tempered man can really like me, when he sits there such a long time waiting for my convenience?’ You have therefore in *Monsieur le Chauve* a bitter opponent of peace, or in other words of Brutus. I think I shall to Tusculum to-day, be to-morrow at Lanuvium, and after that at Astura. Every thing is ready for Pilia’s reception, but I should like Attica too—however I forgive you —kind regards to both of them.

Syrus was being played. But to include Lucius Cassius, the brother of the chief conspirator, seemed to Cicero still more favourable, because he was not directly in the plot at all.

This passage is so extremely obscure, partly from the doubtful reading, and partly from the want of Atticus’s letter to which the allusions are made, that translation is almost hopeless. By general consent of the commentators the second φαλάκρωμα, like ‘Madarus,’ is a mere play upon the name Calvena, derived from *calvus*, bald, and represents Matius himself. But the first φαλάκρωμα is a very doubtful correction of the MS., which has φαλάκωμα, or σαλάκωμα. Gronovius, who is followed by Orelli, proposed σαλακωνισμα, ‘swaggering’ (a word which is not found elsewhere); Boot, not very happily, μαλακὸν κῶμα, ‘a quiet sleep,’ which he supposes to have been interrupted by the conversation of Matius. If φαλάκρωμα be right—which I do not believe—Atticus may have said jokingly: ‘So you have been to see Calvena. What a pair of bald-pates you must have been. You would never be able to get away from his house.’ Cicero then replies: ‘Not a bit of it: I did not drivell on like a bald-pate there at all; I actually did move on that day, though not so far as I meant, because I own his talking did keep me a long time.’ In any case the Greek word probably refers to Cicero, not to Matius, because *apud quem* does not mean ‘in him,’ but ‘at his house.’ *Diu* is better taken with *retentus* than with *processi*, which would probably require *longe*. But under the circumstances nothing better than a guess at the meaning is even possible.

CVII. (AD FAM. XI. 1.)

FROM DECIMUS IUNIUS BRUTUS, PROBABLY AT ROME, TO MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS AND GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS.

March 17 (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

This letter 'shows clearly enough the embarrassed position in which the conspirators found themselves. Decimus's first thought was to retire into voluntary exile, but as soon as the Senate's decree passed, confirming Caesar's dispositions, he changed his mind, and proceeded to take the command of the three legions destined for Cisalpine Gaul, and to possess himself of the government of that province, upon which Antonius seemed already to be turning his eyes.' Abeken, 387; compare Merivale, iii. 114. As the letter is apparently written from Rome, Marcus Brutus and Cassius must have already left the city. On its date, see Tyrrell-Purser, and Watson, Appendix xiii.

Let me inform you both of the position we are in. Yesterday evening Hirtius was at my house; he convinced me about the real intentions of Antonius, as being, that is, most malicious and treacherous. For he was now asserting that, so far from it being in his power to give me the province, he did not think that any one of us could be at Rome without risk, so excited were the feelings of the soldiery and the populace; both of which statements are, you no doubt perceive, false, while this, which Hirtius pointed out to me, is true: that he is really afraid lest, if our rightful claims were even moderately supported, these people would have no part left them to play in the Republic at all. Finding that I was in this strait, I decided on applying for an honorary ambassadorship for myself and the rest of us, so as to look about for some decent reason for leaving town. This he has promised that he will procure; and yet I am by no means confident that he will succeed; there is so much insolence and desire to persecute us in these creatures: even if they grant our request, I think we shall find ourselves all the same in a very short time being declared public enemies or proscribed as outlaws.

What then, say you, have I to suggest? We must give way before fortune: we must retire, I think, from Italy and emigrate to Rhodes, or somewhere else abroad: then if the chances ever prove better, we will return to Rome; if indifferent

we will live in exile ; if as bad as can be, we will come at last **4** to the extreme expedient. At this point it will possibly occur to one of you : ‘ why wait for extremities instead of making an effort at once ? ’ Because we have no rallying-point, except Sextus Pompeius and Caecilius Bassus, who will be, it seems to me, in a stronger position when this news about Caesar has reached them. Time enough for going to them, when we shall have learnt what their strength is really worth.

I will make any engagements on behalf of you and Cassius that you may wish me to make, for Hirtius stipulates that **5** I should do so. I must ask you to let me have an answer at once, because I have no doubt that Hirtius will let me know about these matters before ten o’clock. Tell me in your answer of some place where we can meet, which you would like me to come to.

6 P.S.—After the final conversation I have just had with Hirtius I have decided to apply for leave while we are at Rome to have a guard allowed us by the State. I do not suppose they will grant us this, because we shall be making them very unpopular. Still I thought I ought to omit no appeal that I could regard as being reasonable.

CVIII. (AD ATT. XIV. 12.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

April 22, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

The possession of Caesar’s papers gave Antonius a powerful advantage, which he was not slow to use. Caesar’s acts had been ratified by the Senate, many members of which would have lost their own appointments if Caesar’s reign were declared an usurpation. This was most dangerously extended to the ratification even of intended acts about which memoranda could be found among Caesar’s papers, so that Cicero’s repeated accusation against Antonius of a wholesale forgery of documents, and of being under the corrupt influence of his notorious wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, is anything but improbable. But a grant of the full Roman franchise to the Sicilians, which Cicero attacks in this letter, was perfectly in accordance with Caesar’s definite policy.—Mommesen, iv. 545-547; compare Introd. to Letter xxxi., on the franchise given to the Transpadane Gauls.

Merivale, iii. 96-98; Abeken, 389.

O Atticus! I fear me the Ides of March have given us ¹ nothing beyond the pleasure, and the satisfaction of our hatred and indignation. What news reaches me from you—what sights do I see here! *O facinus altum, fine quam tamen caret.*¹ You know how attached I am to the Sicilians, and what a distinction I consider it is to be their patron. Caesar was generous in his grants to them, nor was I inclined to object, although the idea of Latinizing was intolerable; however, let that be. Well, lo and behold, Antonius, after receiving for it a very considerable sum of money, has posted a law as having been carried by the Dictator in the assembly, under which the Sicilians find themselves Roman citizens—a proposal of which no hint was ever given in his lifetime! Nay, is it not the same thing too with my client Deiotarus?² Certainly he deserves to have his whole kingdom, only not through Fulvia. There are hundreds of things of this kind; but I pin the question down to this:³ shall we or shall we not, to a considerable extent, make good a claim so clear, so well attested, and so equitable as this, the case of Buthrotum; ay, and all the more strongly, the more grants this very person has been making? With me here Octavius is in a most ² complimentary and friendly mood. His own attendants indeed wanted him to be styled Caesar: not so Philippus, and not so therefore I myself. I say that for him it is impossible ever to be a truly good citizen, there is such a crowd of people at his elbow who even threaten our friends with death. The present state of things, he says, ‘cannot be acquiesced in.’ What do you make of this lad having come to Rome, when our deliverers cannot be there safely? They themselves indeed will ever be illustrious, nay, will even be blessed in the recollection of what they have done; but we, unless I am much mistaken, shall be under foot. Consequently I long to get away from this, to where ‘Of all the race of Pelops

¹ The words in Cicero are no doubt a quotation from a lost drama.

² See Letter cv. note 1.

³ Or, as Boot renders, ‘I apply what I have said to the case of Buthrotum.’ *Rofero* is surely transitive, whether we regard the object as being understood, or *illuc* as being the neuter of the old form *illic*, like *istuc*, Letter lxxxvii. § 2. The case of the Buthrotians was that Caesar had promised in writing to remit a sentence of confiscation passed against their territory. See Ad Att. xvi. 16.

none may come,' as somebody says.⁴ I am far from being in love even with these consuls-elect,⁵ who have positively driven me into writing declamations for them, so that even here at the waters I am not allowed to live in peace. But after all, this comes of my own too great good-nature; for if all this used once upon a time to be virtually compulsory, it is not so now, however things stand.

3 Though for this long time past I find myself without anything to write to you about, still I write all the same, not for any pleasure I can give you by my letters, but for the sake of eliciting yours. You of course will send me any news about the others, whatever it be, particularly about Brutus. I am writing this on the 22nd, while at dinner with Vestorius,⁶ who, poor man, is as much at sea in logic, as he is at home in ledgers.

CIX. (AD ATT. XIV. 13 A.)

FROM MARCUS ANTONIUS IN SOUTH ITALY TO CICERO AT
PUTEOLOI.

About April 20 (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Sextus Clodius, the descendant of a freedman of the great Claudian family, and the instrument of Cicero's enemy, Publius Clodius, in all his acts of violence, had been banished for riot in 52 B.C. Antonius, on the ground of a memorandum found among Caesar's papers, or perhaps, as Cicero declared to Atticus, only fabricated, intended now to restore him; but contrived to put Cicero into a difficulty by making the restoration conditional on his consent. This and the following letter are enclosed in one written to Atticus, in which Cicero says that he has consented, because Antonius was sure in any case to have done as he pleased. But the very superfluous and insincere warmth with which Cicero replies placed him afterwards in an embarrassing position, since in answer to his First Philippic this letter was read by Antonius in the Senate as a proof of his inconsistency.—Phil. ii. 4-7. The young Clodius here mentioned was the son of Publius Clodius and Fulvia. Antonius, who had married Fulvia, was therefore his guardian.

The date of Cicero's reply is probably about April 25. Antonius was at

⁴ From some tragedy; Boot suggests the *Atreus* of Accius.

⁵ Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius Pansa, who fell at Mutina; Letter cxxxvi. On these declamatory exercises compare Letter lxxxvii.

⁶ A banker of Puteoli; see Letter xxxiv. § 1; xxxviii. note 4. The passage is a curious example of Roman manners.

this time in South Italy, endeavouring to secure the adhesion of Caesar's veterans; Cicero was staying at a beautiful estate near Puteoli (Pozzuoli) in Campania, which had been lately bequeathed to him by his friend, the banker Cluvius.

Forsyth, 432-434; Abeken, 394.

Owing to the pressure of my work and your sudden departure from Rome it has come about that I could not speak to you in person about this matter; and therefore I fear that the fact of my being away should be a loss in importance in your eyes.¹ If however I find that your good-nature comes up to the high opinion I have ever entertained of you I shall be greatly pleased.

I entreated Caesar to grant a recall to Sextus Clodius.² This request I obtained. Even then it was my intention only to make use of his concession to me on the condition that you had first given your sanction, which makes me all the more anxious that you should kindly give your consent now to my carrying this out myself. If however you show yourself inclined to be hard on his unhappy and broken fortunes I for my part will not enter into a contest with you, though I suppose I am really bound to pay respect to a written memorandum of Caesar's. But I must protest that if you are inclined to think of me with kindness and consideration and friendliness, you will undoubtedly show yourself ready to be convinced, and be glad that Publius Clodius, a youth surrounded with a halo of the brightest hopes, should bear in mind that you refused, when it was in your power, to persecute his father's friends. Let it, I entreat you, be seen³ that the feud you waged with his father was on political grounds—you surely would not think this family deserves contempt—because it is more honourable and easy for us to lay aside quarrels arising from some political reason than from an arrogant temper. Allow me then forthwith to train the lad in this opinion, and instil into his young mind the persuasion that personal quarrels are not to be transmitted from genera-

¹ In the first edition I rendered this, 'that in my absence it may seem to you only of lighter weight,' taking *absentia* as ablative, and supplying *res* from *re* as the subject of *levior*. But I now abandon this, because *absentia* would then probably be *propter absentiam*.

tion to generation. Although your fortunes, my dear Cicero, are, I know, now unquestionably beyond the reach of any danger, yet I imagine that you would rather spend an old age of tranquillity and honour than one which is harassed with anxieties. Finally, when I ask you for this favour I am within my rights, for I have never failed to do anything for your sake. If however I do not obtain my request I propose not to make this concession to Clodius on my own responsibility, so that you may see how high your authority is with me, and be therefore the more inclined to show that you are open to conciliation.

CX. (AD ATT. XIV. 13 B.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO MARCUS ANTONIUS IN THE SOUTH OF ITALY.

(*A reply to the preceding Letter.*)

About April 25 (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

- 1 The request contained in your letter I could wish for one reason that you had rather pleaded in person, because then not only from my words, but, as we say, ‘from speaking face and eye and brow,’ you might have been able to see my affection for you. For while I have always had a great regard for you, which began with your zealous support, and was afterwards demanded as a return for your kindness, in the present times the welfare of our country has established your claims upon me so strongly that there is no one whom I hold more
- 2 dear. Your letter however, by its most affectionate and complimentary tone, has so impressed me that instead of conferring a favour upon you, I seem to be actually receiving one from you, when you make such an appeal as even to refuse to reinstate without my consent a kinsman of your own who has been an opponent of mine, though you could do so without the least trouble.
- 3 Yes, my dear Antonius, I put this matter entirely in your hands ; and not only so, but I consider myself most generously and courteously treated by you after the terms in which you

have written to me. And while I should think it right, whatever the circumstances might be, unreservedly to make you this concession, I make it also to my own sympathy and disposition; for—so far from my being vindictive—there never was in me even the faintest inclination to sternness or severity beyond what the necessities of the Commonwealth demanded. I may add that even while Clodius himself was alive I never showed any conspicuous dislike for him,¹ and I have always asserted the principle that our enemies' friends ought not to be persecuted, particularly those of humbler rank, nor ought we ourselves to be deprived of the protection which we derive from them. For as to young Clodius, I consider it your 4 proper course, as you suggest in your letter, to instil such precepts into his yet tender mind that he may not imagine any trace of hostility to remain between our houses. Publius Clodius I withstood, because I was asserting the public interest, he his own: upon our dispute the country has now given its deliberate decision. Were he alive now I should have no cause of quarrel still remaining with him.

Since therefore you put your request to me in such a way 5 as to say that even in what is entirely a matter of your own discretion you will not use it against my wishes, will you kindly allow this to be a concession on my part to the lad himself as well? Not as though my old age need look for any danger to come from his youth, or my position had much to dread from any opposition whatever, but that you and I may be linked more closely to each other than we have hitherto been; for owing to the interference of these feuds your heart has been more open to me than your house. But of these things enough. I will end with this: that always with the warmest pleasure I shall without any hesitation do whatever I have reason to believe is in accordance with your wishes, and connected with your interests: of this I hope you will make yourself thoroughly assured.

¹ This is a flagrant instance of Cicero's insincerity. His language about Clodius was on every occasion of the most offensive character (see Index, Clodius); and, as Mr. Watson notes, two years after Clodius's murder (*Ad Att. vi. 1, 26*) he still counted the days with savage exultation from that event.

CXI. (AD FAM. IX. 14.)

FROM CICERO AT POMPEII TO PUBLIUS CORNELIUS DOLABELLA
AT ROME.

May 3 or 4, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Upon the murder of Caesar Dolabella at once assumed the consulship, which had been promised to him for the following year, and joined the conspirators in the Capitol; but before long Antonius secured his adhesion by a very large bribe. Shortly before this letter Dolabella had, in the absence of Antonius, destroyed an altar and column erected by an impostor named Herophilus or Amatius, who had pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and put to death many people who assembled to worship at it. Cicero's eulogies of this act seemed rather ridiculous, and were probably dictated by the desire to see Tullia's dowry restored by Dolabella. They were more than once found fault with by the more prudent Atticus.—*Ad Att. xiv. 18, 1.*

Merivale, iii. 100-102; Abeken, 400; Forsyth, 434.

1 My dear Dolabella—

Though your reputation had always contented me, and though from it I used to derive enough delight and satisfaction, yet I cannot but own that this is now a crowning pleasure, that in popular opinion my own name is linked with the praises you have earned. I have not met a single person, many as I meet every day (for numbers of our best men are coming to these parts in quest of health, besides the crowd of my acquaintances who come from the country-towns), without finding that when they have been praising you to the skies they invariably go on to express their warm gratitude to me; because they say it is impossible to doubt that it is all in obedience to my advice and instruction that you are now proving yourself so patriotic as a citizen and distinguished as 2 a consul. Now though I might answer with perfect truth that whatever you are doing you do of your own judgment and your own free-will, and that you are not one to need any man's advice, yet I neither altogether admit this to be true, for fear of diminishing the credit due to you if all this should be thought to have originated in my counsels, nor yet give it a very emphatic denial, because I do indeed covet honour, perhaps more than enough. Yet, after all, this which was an honour to the king of kings, great Agamemnon himself, in

taking counsel to have a Nestor by him, is no detraction from your dignity ; while to me it is a pride that you, our young consul, should be winning golden opinions, as if you were a pupil who had profited by my training. Lucius Caesar¹ indeed, when I paid him a visit during his illness at Naples, although he was racked with pain in his whole body, said, almost before he had fairly bidden me welcome : ‘ I con-
‘ gratulate you, my dear Cicero, on having such influence with
‘ Dolabella. Had I as much with my sister’s son we now
‘ might possibly be secure. And as for your Dolabella, I not
‘ only congratulate him, I feel grateful to him ; he is indeed
‘ the one consul since yourself whom we in the true sense can
‘ call a consul.’ He then enlarged on the fact, and the action
you had taken, and added that nothing was ever more nobly
or more splendidly done ; nothing ever more salutary for the
commonwealth : and indeed this is the unanimous expression
of everybody.

Now my petition of you is that you will allow me, even in ⁴ default of a title, to accept this inheritance, so to speak, of the glory really due to another, and consent to my coming in for a fair share at least of the applause you have earned. And yet, my dear Dolabella, I have only been joking with you ; for I should be far more glad to have poured all my glories—if mine indeed exist at all—into your lap than to have absorbed any portion of what is yours ; because while my affection for you has always been quite as strong in reality as you have had the opportunity of seeing, my heart has been so warmed by this action of yours that no love can ever be more ardent. Believe me indeed, there is nothing fairer, nothing more beautiful, nothing more lovely, than well-doing. I have always, as you know, loved Marcus⁵ Brutus for his lofty genius, his winning courtesy, his extraordinary honesty and consistency,² yet, in spite of this, on the Ides of March so much was added to my affection that I was astonished at there being any room for increase in what I had long looked upon as actually overflowing. Would

¹ See Introd. to Letter ii. He was uncle of Marcus Antonius.

² See Introd. to Letter xxxvi. for a startling illustration of these virtues of Brutus.

any one have dreamed that a grain could possibly be added to the affection I entertained for you? So much was added that it seems as if it is only now I love you, that before this I
6 esteemed you. What excuse therefore have I for exhorting you to obey the dictates of high position and of fame? Am I to hold up illustrious examples to you, as people generally do when they are exhorting us? I find no example more illustrious than yourself. It is yourself you are called on to imitate, yourself the rival against whom you must be measured; you cannot even gain indulgence now if after such great deeds done you do not act up to your character.

7 And this being so, admonition is uncalled for; I must rather resort to congratulation; for you have had a privilege which perhaps no one before you has ever enjoyed, of finding a most rigorous administration of justice not only not unpopular but positively acceptable to the people, and as gratifying to the lowest of the mob as it was to every good citizen. Had this been the result of some lucky chance, I would congratulate you on your good fortune; but it is a result of the greatness not only of your courage, but also your genius and prudence; for I have read your address, and nothing could be more skilful than it is; so cautiously and gradually are made now the approaches to action, now the retreats from your position,
8 that by universal admission the very logic of facts showed the immediate necessity for strong measures. You have thus delivered Rome from danger, and the whole country from the apprehension of it, and the noble service which you have contributed is not one of the moment only, but also a precedent for the future. And after this action you are bound to see that the Republic now rests upon you, and that it is for you not only to protect but to give honour to those men by whom the first step was taken to a new era of liberty. But on these subjects more when we meet, as I hope we shall do very shortly. Only do you, since you are now the protector of the Republic and of us all, be sure, my dear Dolabella, that you take every precaution for guarding your own security.

CXII. (AD ATT. XIV. 21.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT LANUVIUM (?).

May 11, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

I had only a short time before handed a letter for you to 1
 the courier of Cassius when on the 11th our own courier arrived,
 and positively—it must be a miracle—without a letter from
 you! I soon guessed however that you had been at Lanuvium.
 As for Eros, he made all haste to get a letter from Dolabella delivered to me—not about my money, because he
 had not yet received mine, but an answer to the one of which
 I sent you a copy,¹ and, I must admit, very clearly put. Well, 2
 I had hardly dismissed Cassius's courier when enter Balbus.
 Oh, good heavens! how easy it was to see that he is afraid of
 a peace. You know the man too, how close he is. Well, in
 spite of this he began telling me all about the plans of
 Antonius: how he was going the round of the veterans to
 persuade them to confirm Caesar's acts, and swear that they
 will insist on this, that everybody should regard them as valid,
 and that two commissioners should inquire into them monthly.
 He complained also about his own unpopularity; and on the
 whole what he said came to this, that he is apparently devoted
 to Antonius. It is needless to say there is no trusting him.
 As for myself, I have no doubt that things are looking in the 3
 direction of war, because the deed itself was done, if with manly
 conception, with puerile execution. For who could not see
 that an heir to the throne was still left? Now what can be
 more absurd than

‘To fear the one, but count the other nought?’

Nay, even at this very time there are numerous things which
 seem perhaps *de mauvais goût*. Pontius's estate at Naples in
 the possession of the Regicide's mother!² I must read again

¹ The reference here is to the preceding letter.

² This alludes to Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, who was in possession, either by the gift of Caesar or by purchase, of the estate of Lucius Pontius Aquila (Letter i. 3), a member of the senatorial party.

and again my ‘*De Senectute*,’ which I sent you; because old age makes me inclined to be bitter; I am angry with everything. But then *moi, j’ai vécu*—these are the affairs of younger men.

4 Will you keep an eye on my concerns, as you are doing now? I am writing, or rather dictating this at Vestorius’s, with the last course already on table. The day after to-morrow I propose to be at Hirtius’s—indeed he is now *le survivant*³ of the five. Thus it is that I have designs of bringing the man over to the good side—a *vraie folie* of mine. There is not one of all those gentlemen but is afraid of a peace. Let us therefore see that we have wings to our feet, because anything is better than fighting.

Please give Attica my best love. I am looking for the address of Octavius, and whatever else there may be; particularly whether Dolabella is beginning to rattle any money at all, or whether, so far as regards his account with me, he has declared for a repudiation of debts.

CXIII. (AD FAM. XI. 27.)

FROM CICERO AT TUSCULUM TO GAIUS MATIUS CALVENA
NEAR ROME.

End of August (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Matius was undoubtedly one of the most amiable and attractive characters among all the correspondents of Cicero, and his reply to this letter is one that does him honour. The facts were as follows. Caesar had founded a temple to The Parent Venus, with annual games in honour of the victory of Pharsalus. The expense of these games was this year borne by Octavianus, assisted by Matius and a few others of Caesar’s friends. This gave great offence to the more violent party, and it seems that Cicero also had hurt Matius by some of his expressions. His letter to explain himself is neither ingenuous nor consistent with what he was at the same time writing to Atticus. Abeken criticises his conduct here with unusual severity. ‘This letter forces us to acknowledge with pain that obstinate devotion to a party will too often induce men, great

³ This allusion it is impossible to explain with certainty. Atticus may have called five people with whom Cicero was engaged to dine the *πεντέλοιποι*, which Cicero puts into the singular to apply to Hirtius. But, unless the word is corrupt, the Abbé Mongault is most probably right: ‘il y a quelque plaisirterie cachée, dont le sens ne nous est pas connu.’

and honourable in every other respect, to forget all the sentiments of moderation and mercy.'

Merivale, ii. 420; iii. 111; Long, v. 444; Abeken, 410; Introd. to Letter xv. On the date, see Tyrrell-Purser, and Letter cxiv. note 1.

I have not as yet quite made up my mind whether our good friend Trebatius, though he is as thoroughly affectionate to you and me as he is always ready to do us a service, has been causing me more pain or more pleasure. For though it was only in the evening that I reached my house at Tusculum he came to see me early next morning, though he had not yet fully recovered his strength; and when I began to find fault with him for making so little allowance for his health, he replied that there was nothing he had waited for so long as to see me. On my saying, 'Why, has anything fresh occurred?' he explained to me your grievance. Now before I give you my answer on this I must point out to you a few considerations.

As far as my memory will go back into the past I have no 2 friend of longer standing than yourself; but in the length of our friendship many people partake to some degree, not in the warmth of its affection. The very day I first knew you I felt a liking for you, and was satisfied that you had a liking for me. After this your withdrawal from Rome, such a long one too as it was, my own taking to politics, and the dissimilarity of our lives would not admit of our mutual inclination being cemented by constant intercourse. Still I had reason to know your feeling towards me years before the Civil War, while Caesar was still in Gaul; because you succeeded, as you thought would be very advantageous for me, and no disadvantage to Caesar himself, in gaining me his liking and respect, and a place in the number of his friends.

I pass over many instances in those days of the perfect familiarity with which we conversed, wrote, and sent messages to one another, because more serious events followed. On 3 the breaking out for example of the Civil War, when you were on your way towards Brundisium to meet Caesar, you came to see me at my house at Formiae. To begin with, how much this meant in itself, especially at such a time! Then do you think I have forgotten your advice, your conversation, your kindness, in all of which, I remember, Trebatius had a part?

No, nor yet have I forgotten the letter you wrote me after your meeting with Caesar in the district, I think it was, of ⁴ Trebula.¹ Next came the time when something, whether it was my own sensitiveness, or a feeling of obligation, or, if you like, a mere chance, made me set out to join Pompeius. Was any possible act of kindness, any zealous service, ever wanting on your part, either to me when far away, or to my dear ones who were left behind? Was there any one indeed whom all these of mine had reason to consider a truer friend than you either to me or to themselves? I returned to Brundisium; do you think I have forgotten the eagerness with which, immediately on receipt of the news, you flew from Tarentum to meet me; or your sitting down by me and talking, and encouraging my spirits when they were quite broken down, from dread of the misery in which we were all involved?

⁵ That long time passed, and we began to live at Rome; was anything then wanting to make our intimacy complete? Upon those occasions which were most important I followed your advice about my bearing towards Caesar, on all others the dictates of duty. To whom but myself, with the exception of Caesar, did you ever pay the compliment of coming constantly to his house, and there many a time spending long hours in delightful conversation? It was then too, if you remember, that you urged me to write these *brochures* upon philosophical questions.² After Caesar's return what object was dearer to you than that in which you were successful—of seeing me established among his most intimate friends?

⁶ And now therefore to what is all this argument—a longer one than I had intended—leading up? It is because I was surprised that you, who ought to know all this, should ever have believed that I had done anything which was inconsistent with our friendship; for besides the instances I have recalled to your memory, which are seen and attested by everybody, I have many of a far less obvious kind, which I can hardly

¹ Probably the Trebula in Campania, now Treglia; Letter xliv. note 1. The letter referred to seems to be one from Matius and Trebatius jointly: a copy is given in *Ad Att.* ix. 15.

² The Academics, The Limits of Virtue and Vice (*De Finibus*), the Tusculan Disputations, etc., his philosophical works belonging almost wholly to the years 45 and 44.

succeed in reducing to words. All your qualities delight me, but chiefly in one kind the [unrivalled] fidelity in friendship, the judgment, the balance of mind, the consistency; in another, the grace, the refinement, the learning. So now I come back to your grievance.

In the first place, I for my part never believed that on the question of the law you allude to you had recorded your vote at all;³ and then if I had believed it I should never suppose you had done so without some adequate reason. It is your high character which makes everything you do be exposed to comment, while it is the malevolence of the world which makes some things be published in a less kindly way than that in which they were done. If such things never reach you I scarcely know what to say; for myself, if I ever hear them, I defend you just as much as I am sure to be defended by you against my unfair detractors. Now I have two ways of defending. There are some things which I should always explicitly contradict, as for example about that particular vote of yours; others which I should maintain were done by you from kind feeling, and regard for the memory of a friend; for example, your undertaking the management of the games.⁴ But to you with your great learning it must be obvious that if Caesar was a king—as to me at least seems to be the case—two opposite lines of argument may be taken about the regard you show him; either the one which I myself am in the habit of employing, that your loyalty and kindly feeling, in thus paying the tribute of affection to a friend even after his death, are truly praiseworthy; or the other, which some people do use, that the liberty of our country ought to be put before the life of a friend. After we have been discussing these questions how I wish my arguments were repeated to you! But as to those two which are the chief among your distinctions, who is there that dwells upon them either more warmly or more frequently than I? that it is you who had the greatest weight both when

³ This refers to Caesar's equitable act for the relief of debtors: see Introd. to Letter lxxvi. Matius answers that so far from supporting the act from interested motives he was a loser by it.

⁴ To Atticus however (xv. 2) Cicero writes: 'I am not pleased with this preparation for the games, nor with Matius and Postumus for managing them.'

you pleaded against beginning a civil war, and when you urged moderation in the hour of victory ; and in this I have not found a single person but would agree with me.

For these reasons I am grateful to our good friend Trebatius, who has given me the opportunity of writing this letter. If you are not convinced by it, it will seem that you have persuaded yourself that I am entirely wanting in loyalty and generous feeling ; than which nothing could be either a heavier blow to me, or more unlike your character.



CXIV. (AD FAM. XI. 28.)

FROM GAIUS MATIUS CALVENA AT HIS HOUSE NEAR ROME
TO CICERO AT TUSCULUM.

(*A reply to the preceding letter.*)

End of August (?), 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

1 I received great pleasure from your letter, because I found that your opinion of me was what I had hoped and wished it to be ; not that I was in any doubt about it, but for the very reason that I valued it so highly I was most anxious that it should remain unimpaired. Conscious however that I had done nothing which could give offence to the feelings of any good citizen, I was naturally the less inclined to believe that you, adorned as you are with so many excellences of the most admirable kind, could have allowed yourself to be convinced of anything on mere idle report ; particularly seeing that you were a friend for whom my spontaneous attachment had been and still was unbroken. And knowing now that it has been as I hoped, I will answer those attacks which you have often opposed on my behalf, as was fairly to be expected from your well-known generosity and the friendship existing between us.

2 For I am well aware of all they have been heaping on me since Caesar's death. They make it a reproach against me that I go heavily for the loss of a friend, and think it cruel that one whom I loved should have fallen, because, say they, country must be put before friends—as though they have

hitherto been successful in proving that his death really was the gain of the commonwealth. But I will not enter any subtle plea ; I admit that I have not attained to your higher grades of philosophy : for I have neither been a partisan of Caesar in our civil dissensions—though I did not abandon my friend even when his action was a stumbling-block to me —nor did I ever give my approval to the Civil War, or even to the actual ground of quarrel, of which indeed I earnestly desired that the first sparks should be trampled out. And so in the triumph of a personal friend I was never ensnared by the charms either of place or of money ; prizes which have been recklessly abused by the rest, though they had less influence with him than I had. I may even say that my own private property was impaired by that act of Caesar, thanks to which many of those who are rejoicing at Caesar's death continued to live in their own country. That our defeated fellow-countrymen should be spared was as much an object to me as my own safety. Is it possible then for me, who wanted all to be left ³ uninjured, not to feel indignation that he by whom this was secured is dead ? above all when the very same men were the cause at once of his unpopularity and his untimely end. You shall smart then, say they, since you dare to disapprove of our deed. What unheard-of insolence ! One man then may boast of a deed, which another is not even allowed to lament without punishment. Why, even slaves have always been free of this—to feel their fears, their joys, their sorrows as their own, and not at anybody else's dictation ; and these are the very things which now, at least according to what your 'liberators' have always in their mouths, they are trying to wrest from us by terrorism. But they try in vain. There is ⁴ no danger which has terrors enough ever to make me desert the side of gratitude or humanity ; for never have I thought that death in a good cause is to be shunned, often indeed that it deserves to be courted. But why are they inclined to be enraged with me if my wishes are simply that they may come to regret their deed, desiring as I do that Caesar's death may be felt to be untimely by us all ? It is my duty as a citizen to desire the preservation of the constitution ? Well, unless both my life in the past and all my hopes for the future

prove without any words of mine that I do earnestly desire this, I make no demand to prove it by my professions.

5 To you therefore I make a specially earnest appeal to let facts come before assertions, and to take my word for it that, if you feel that honesty is the best policy, it is impossible I should have any association with lawless villains. Or can you believe that the principles I pursued in the days of my youth, when even error could pass with some excuse, I shall renounce now that I am going down the hill, and with my own hands unravel all the web of my life? That I will not do; nor yet will I commit any act that could give offence, beyond the fact that I do lament the sad fall of one who was to me the dearest friend and the most illustrious of men. But were I otherwise disposed, I would never deny what I was doing, lest it should be thought I was at once shameless in doing wrong, and false and cowardly in dissembling it.

6 But then I undertook the management of those games which Caesar's heir celebrated for Caesar's victory.¹ Well, this is a matter which belongs to one's private obligations, not to any political arrangement; it was however in the first place a tribute of respect which I was called upon to pay to the memory and the eminent position of a man whom I dearly loved, even though he was dead, and also one that I could not refuse at the request of a young man so thoroughly promising, and so worthy in every way of Caesar as he is.

7 Again, I have frequently paid visits of compliment to the consul Antonius. And you will find that the very men who think me but a lukewarm patriot are constantly going to his house in crowds, actually for the purpose of soliciting or carrying away some favour. But what a monstrous claim it is, that while Caesar never laid any such embargo as this to prevent me from associating freely with anybody I pleased—even if they were people whom he personally did not like—these men who have robbed me of my friend should attempt by malicious insinuations to prevent my showing a kindness to whomsoever I will!

8 I have however no fear that the moderation of my life will

¹ These were about July 20, while Cicero was abroad. We do not hear of him at Tusculum in August, but he reached Rome from Pompeii on the 31st.

hereafter prove an insufficient defence against false insinuations, and that even those who do not love me, because of my loyalty to Caesar, would not rather have their own friends imitate me than themselves. Such of life as remains to me, at least if I succeed in what I desire, I shall spend in quiet at Rhodes; but if I find that some chance has put a stop to this I shall simply live at Rome as one who is always desirous that right should be done.

I am deeply grateful to our good friend Trebatius for having thus disclosed to me your sincere and friendly feeling, and given me even an additional reason for honouring and paying respect to one whom it has always been a pleasure to me to regard as a friend. Farewell heartily, and let me have your esteem.

CXV. (AD FAM. XII. 1.)

FROM CICERO AT POMPEII TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS
AT LANUVIUM.

May 3, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

The date of this letter is fixed to May 3 by the allusion in Att. xiv. 19. 1. It speaks of Dolabella's punishment of the rioters on May 1 as well known, but not, of course, about the important meeting of the Senate on June 1, at which Syria was assigned to him, and Macedonia to Antonius. During May Cicero was staying at different country-houses; by the 3rd (Ad Att. xiv. 17-19) he was at Pompeii. Brutus and Cassius quitted Rome, which was now hardly safe for them, at the end of April or the beginning of May, and went first to Lanuvium, and thence to Antium.

Merivale, iii. 114; Abeken, 390. A table of the probable dates of this period is given by Abeken, 401.

Believe me, Cassius, I never cease thinking about you ¹ and our dear friend Brutus, or, in other words, about the Republic itself, the chances of which now rest entirely on you two and on Decimus Brutus. Of this indeed I myself now hold better hopes, since my good Dolabella has done his duty to the constitution so splendidly, because the plague of our city was so spreading, and gathering daily so much additional strength, that I at any rate was beginning to despair of Rome and of any prospect of peace for the city; but the thing has

been so stamped out that for all future time it seems to me we shall be free at least from that most humiliating risk. The remainder of our work is both important and varied, but it depends entirely upon you ; let us however take each thing in its proper order.

The fact is that—so far as has been done at present—we seem to have been emancipated from the king's person, but not from the kingly power, for though the king has been put to death we still anxiously watch for every royal nod. Even this is not all ; there are things which he himself would not carry out if he were still alive, but which we positively allow on the theory of ‘carrying out his ideas.’ Nor in this particular proceeding do I see where we are to stop. Schedules of grants are posted, exemptions from taxes allowed, vast sums of money distributed, banished men recalled, spurious decrees of the Senate registered : so that we seem only to have relieved ourselves of our hatred for one loathsome man, and of the galling sense of slavery ; the Republic is still wallowing in that slough of disorder into which it was he who first plunged her.

2 Out of all this it is for you to clear the way ; nor must you entertain such a thought as this, that you have done enough for the Republic. She has indeed from you already a thing so great that even to wish for it never came into my mind, but satisfied she is not, and the very grandeur of your courage and your noble gift is her reason for still wanting great things from you. By your hand she has avenged her own wrongs in the fall of her tyrant ; that is all. Of her former glories indeed what has she gained back ? Shall we point to her obedience to the very man when dead who was intolerable to her when living ; or to our making valid even the mere memoranda of one whose acts it was our duty to blot from the Statute-Book ? But then we have voted that this should be so ?¹ Yes, it is true that we did do this, yielding to the force of the times, which in politics has ever the greatest

¹ The validity of Caesar's acts, a phrase extended afterwards to include the intended acts for which memoranda could be found, was carried in the important meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, March 17. But even in the First Philippic, which was spoken on September 1, Cicero declared (§ 16) : ‘In the first place I hold that Caesar's acts ought to be maintained.’

influence ; but there are certain people who outrageously and ungratefully abuse our willingness to make concessions. Of this however, and many other things, in a day or two when we meet. Meanwhile I hope you will rest assured that for the sake, not more of our mutual affection than of the Republic which I have always loved so well, the maintenance of your rightful position is one of my most anxious cares. Farewell, and do not neglect your health.

CXVI. (AD FAM. XI. 3.)

FROM THE PRAETORS MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS AND GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS AT NAPLES (?) TO THE CONSUL MARCUS ANTONIUS AT ROME.

August 4, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

In the important meeting of the Senate on June 1, Syria and Macedonia, which had been promised respectively to Cassius and Brutus, were given to Dolabella and Antonius ; while on the 5th Brutus and Cassius were assigned the charge of providing the city with grain, to serve as a reason for their absence from Rome. The next day Cicero had an interview with them at Antium, described in one of his letters to Atticus (xv. 11), in which the utter want of forethought and energy on the part of the conspirators is strikingly conspicuous. They were very unwilling to leave Italy, and remained in the neighbourhood of Naples for some time, applying meanwhile for a formal release, probably from their obligation as praetors to reside at Rome. Antonius seems to have replied by a letter of intimidation to hasten their departure from Italy, and by a proclamation denouncing their conduct as illegal, which produced this angry but impotent manifesto. At the end of September Brutus sailed for Macedonia, and Cassius for Syria, in order to secure those provinces before the arrival of Antonius and Dolabella.

Merivale, iii. 116-123, 132 ; Abeken, 402-410 ; Forsyth, 438-441.

Sir¹—We have read your letter, which is thoroughly in 1 keeping with your proclamation, being an insulting, intimidating, and in every way improper one for you to have written to us. We, Sir, have given you no provocation to injury, nor did we believe that you would think it extraordinary for men in such a position as ours, and praetors too, to have made in a public manifesto an appeal to the consul for some privilege. It

¹ s. v. b. See Letter iii. note 1.

however you are indignant at our daring to do this, permit us at least to regret that to a Brutus and a Cassius you would refuse even this.

2 For as to your denial that you have ever made a complaint, that troops were being levied, requisitions of money enforced, the army tampered with, and secret despatches sent abroad, we indeed give you credit for having made it in all sincerity ; but yet while we refuse to admit the truth of any one of these assertions we are surprised to find that, if you have been able to refrain from making these statements, you have been so little able to control your passion as to make the death of Caesar the subject of an attack upon us.

3 We leave it however for you to reflect how far it can be considered tolerable that two praetors should not be allowed in the interests of peace and liberty to publish a proclamation that they withdraw from some of their rights without being menaced with armed violence by the consul. Your confidence in that resort however has nothing to terrify us ; because it would be neither becoming nor suitable for us in view of any personal risk to surrender the freedom of our convictions, while it is not for Antonius to claim lordship over those by whose exertions he is a free man. As to ourselves, did other considerations call upon us to seek to fan the flame of civil war, your letter would have no effect at all, for a free man acknowledges no authority in a threat. But your eyes are quite keen enough to see that we are not to be driven in any direction at all ; and probably the real reason for your threatening attitude is that our deliberate resolve may be made to look like timidity.

4 Our personal sentiments are these. We are anxious to see you held in dignity and honour if it be in a free Republic. We challenge you to no antagonism, but nevertheless we value our liberty more than your friendship. Do you then consider again and again what you are undertaking, what your strength is able to endure ; and be sure you bear in mind not how long Caesar lived, but how he was not long a king. May God grant that your counsels be guided to the welfare of the Republic and of yourself ; if this be too much to hope, our wish for you is that they may do you as

little injury as is consistent with the safety and dignity of the Commonwealth.

August 4th.

CXVII. (AD ATT. XVI. 7.)

FROM CICERO ON BOARD SHIP TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

August 19, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

On the 6th of August Cicero sailed from Leucopetra, the extreme southwest promontory of Italy, for Syracuse, *en route* for Athens. Contrary winds however twice drove him back to his starting-point, and on the second occasion he heard an unfounded report that Brutus and Cassius had come to a friendly understanding with Antonius, and had pressed their friends to muster in full force in the Senate on September 1. Abandoning his intention therefore, he sailed for Pompeii, in order to proceed to Rome, and touching at Velia, on the coast of Lucania, met Brutus, who destroyed his hopes of any such understanding, but encouraged him still to go on, informing him of a bitter attack which had been made upon Antonius by Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law. Cicero reached Rome just in time for the meeting of the Senate, and seems there to have met with a warm reception.

This letter was written on board shortly before reaching Pompeii. It is exceptionally abrupt and difficult in style.

Merivale, iii. 133, 134; Abeken, 414-418; Forsyth, 445, 446.

After making a start on the 6th of August from Leuco-¹
petra—that being the place from which I intended to cross—I had sailed about thirty or forty knots when a violent south-wind drove me back to Leucopetra again. While waiting there for a fair wind—for our old friend Valerius has a villa there, so that I was making a very pleasant stay in his hospitable house—some gentlemen of position who live at Rhegium came there, just arrived of course from Rome; among them was one who had been staying with Brutus and had just left him, so he told me, at Naples. The budget they brought us was the proclamation of Brutus and Cassius, and that there was to be a full Senate on the 1st; also that Brutus and Cassius had written to the ex-consuls and praetors to entreat their attendance. They reported that there were strong expectations that Antonius would in the end give way, a compromise be made, and our friends be allowed to return to Rome: they added moreover that I was much missed,

a little blamed. Having heard all this I without any hesitation abandoned the idea of sailing, which even before this, I give you my word of honour, I was not inclined to like ; 2 though it is true that when I read your letter I was certainly somewhat surprised that you had so emphatically changed your opinion, but I concluded it was not without some reason. Still even granting that you were not the adviser and instigator of my going, there is no doubt that you were one of those who approved of it, on condition that I would be at Rome on the first day of the year ; that is, in effect, that I was to be away so long as there seemed to be not so much danger, and only to step back straight into the fire. But all this, even if it was not quite prudent, against you at any rate leaves nothing *pour m'en prendre à vous*, because in the first place it was done on my own responsibility, and secondly, even supposing you were the first to advise it, what is a friend bound to guarantee who gives his advice except that his 3 intentions are faithful ? There is one thing at which I could not wonder sufficiently—your having written to me in such terms as these : ‘go then and desert your country ; it is well in you—well in the man who was *pro patria non timidus mori !*’¹ What ! was I abandoning or did I seem to you to be abandoning it then ? You yourself, so far from objecting to this course, gave it your approbation. What remains is still more severe. ‘I wish you would draw me up in a finished shape some sort of *résumé* to show that you felt bound to take the course you did.’ My dear Atticus, is it

¹ Horace, Ode iii. 19, 2. I render it thus because *εὐθανασία* seems to be generally taken here of an honourable death, but it may be questioned whether the idea intended is not rather that of desirable (Keats’s ‘easeful death’), as it certainly is in Suetonius, Octavius, c. 99. The MS. reading here, *bene igitur tu qui εὐθαναστας, bene relinqu patrīam*, is possible with merely the alteration to *relinques*. Prof. Housman makes the brilliant conjecture *tene . . . tene relinquere* for *bene . . . bene relinquere*. But the first *bene* not only needs no alteration, but explains the corruption of the second. It is not certain what passage is referred to. Manutius suggests Ad Att. xv. 20. 2 : ‘I have determined to make my way out of this trap, not to escape, but in hopes of the death which is preferable.’ Billerbeck and Schütz refer it to Tusc. Quaest. i. 45 : ‘But surely death is then met with the greatest equanimity when the life as it closes can console itself with its own glories.’ Dean Merivale, iii. 134, thinks that either this or the lost Treatise on Glory (see Introd. to Letter cxxii.) may have supplied the allusion.

really come to this? Does my conduct stand in need of any defence, and before you of all people, who gave it such marked approval? However I certainly will compose the ‘Apologia’ which you want, but it shall be for the use of some one of those people in spite of whose wishes and dissuasions I started. And yet where is the use of this ‘*résumé*’ now? If I had persisted in my intention it might have been needed. But this is just where I was not acting consistently? No philosopher, much as has been written on this subject, has ever yet affirmed that a change of plans is the same as inconsistency. So you follow this up with the remark, ‘Had our good friend Phaedrus indeed been responsible,² the defence would have been obvious: what answer is there under present circumstances?’ It follows then that my action was such as I could not have got Cato to sanction—it was loaded, I suppose, with infamy and disgrace! Would that this had been your view from the first! You would have been the Cato to me, as you so often are.

Positively the most vexatious of all is your conclusion: 5
 ‘For as to our friend Brutus, he holds his tongue.’ That means that he does not presume to lecture a man of my years I find no other meaning I can suppose to be intended by you in these words; and I give you my word that this is the truth. For when my arrival at Velia on the 17th of August reached the ears of Brutus (he was then with his squadron inside the mouth of the river Hales, some three miles this side of Velia), he was on foot at once to find me. And, O heavens! in his delight at my return—I should rather say my turning back—how he did pour out everything he had kept silence about before! so that I could not help thinking of your remark: ‘as to our friend Brutus, he holds his tongue.’ What he particularly regretted was that I had not been in the Senate on the 1st of August. Piso he extolled to the skies. It

² The reading *esset* is harsh without a participle, but cf. De Nat. D. i. 107: *a Democrito habe licentia*. The Medicean MS. has *esse*, from which Boot happily conjectures *esses*; then *si a Phaedro esses*=‘if you were of the school of Phaedrus,’ an Epicurean philosopher who died seven years before (Ad Fam. xiii. 1). This gives the far more spirited meaning: Had you been an Epicurean like Phaedrus, one would know what to say; but what about a professed Stoic? Would Cato approve?

however was a pleasure to him to think that I had cleared myself of two heavy imputations. The one—that of want of spirit, and of deserting my post in the Republic,—which I saw I was incurring by undertaking this journey, was made a reproach against me, even with tears, by numbers of people whom I could not get to believe in my speedy return; the other was what Brutus and his friends (and they were very numerous) were so pleased about—I mean my having got out of the scandal of really only going to the Olympic games! Certainly nothing could have been more contemptible than this, let the circumstances of the Republic be what you will; in their present state it would indeed have been a thing *sans excuse*. Truly I owe wonderful thanks to the south-wind for
 6 having kept me out of such a disgrace. Here you have [presentable] reasons for my turning back, and indeed they are both just and weighty, though none are juster than what came from yourself in another letter: ‘Be sure if you have any creditor at all to provide yourself with means for paying up in full, because the alarm of a war has produced a quite unparalleled *disette* in the money-market.’ When I read this letter I was in mid-channel, so that no possible way of making any provision occurred to me, except that I should be on the spot, and defend my own interests. But enough of this
 7 now—the rest when we meet.

I got from Brutus the manifesto of Antonius to read and their own counterblast. It is a noble composition: but honestly I do not see what can be the effect or what is the use of these manifestoes; nor am I for my part coming back amongst you, as Brutus was supposing, with any view of taking part in politics. For what is there which can be done? Did a soul support Piso? Did even he return to the charge next day? But my age, as they say, ought not to be far from its grave.³

8 But do tell me, I entreat you, what this means which I have heard from Brutus. He told me you had spoken of

³ Boot follows the explanation of Manutius, that an old man ought to remain at home if he wants to be buried at home. Mr. Watson explains the passage as = a man of my age ought not to shrink from death, because it must anyhow be near.

Pilia in a letter as ‘menacée d'une paralysie.’⁴ I was terribly shocked, though he also added that your letter spoke of there being better hopes. I trust it is so, I am sure. Will you give her and my pet Attica my kindest remembrances?

I am writing this on board, just as we are getting near my house at Pompeii.

August 19.

CXVIII. (AD FAM. XII. 2.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS
NEAR NAPLES.

Late in September, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Cicero did not make his appearance in the Senate on the 1st of September, and in his absence was violently attacked by Antonius. Cicero retorted next day by the delivery of the First Philippic, in a meeting of the Senate at which Dolabella presided, Antonius being on this occasion absent. Though moderate in the extreme compared with the remainder of these fourteen terrible invectives it infuriated Antonius, who in another meeting on the 19th unwisely entered the oratorical lists with Cicero, and assailed him in a speech which apparently was quite incoherent with passion. Cicero remained in Rome till October, when he withdrew to Puteoli, and was at this time engaged in composing his greatest speech, the celebrated Second Philippic.

Some time after their interview with Cicero at Velia, Brutus and Cassius left Italy, the former for Macedonia, the latter for Syria, in order to occupy those provinces before the consulship of Antonius and Dolabella, to whom they were now assigned by the Senate, had expired.

Merivale, iii. 135-139, 145; Abeken, 418-424; Forsyth, 451-456.

I am intensely delighted to have your approval of my 1 opinion, and also of my speech; were I allowed to use this privilege more frequently, it would be no trouble at all to regain the Republic and our lost liberties. But this fellow, lost to all reason in his abandoned career, and more wicked by far than even he of whom you said ‘now the most wicked of mankind has fallen,’ is anxious to begin murdering; and charges me with having been an instigator of killing Caesar,

⁴ The Greek words here have no special significance. Greek is generally used for medical terms, see Letter lxxv. note 1; but in this case Cicero seems merely to be quoting the words used by Atticus, who wrote nearly as much in Greek as in Latin.

for no other reason except that the veterans may be excited against me—a danger which I myself do not greatly dread, if it but impart to my reputation some little share in the glory of your deed. Neither Piso therefore, who was—without a single supporter—the first to inveigh against him, nor I myself who did the same thing exactly a month afterwards, nor Publius Servilius who followed my lead, can make our appearance with safety in the Senate-house: because the butcher is eager for the slaughter, and expected to begin with me on the 19th of September, by which day he came up quite ready for his part, having studied it ever so many days before in Scipio's villa. What study however can there possibly be in the midst of drinking and debauchery? And so, as I told you in my previous letter, everybody thought that he seemed, quite characteristically, to be *bringing up* his eloquence rather than bringing it out.

2 As to the confidence therefore which you express in your letter, that a good deal is capable of being done by my authority and eloquence, some progress, considering what great troubles we are in the midst of, has now been made, because all Rome sees that there are three ex-consuls who, simply because they have as free men spoken their patriotic sentiments about the Republic, cannot without risk take their place in the Senate. And beyond this there is nothing for you to expect; for your kinsman is delighted with the new match in his family;¹ and so he is no longer enthusiastic about the games, and quite ready to burst at the immense applause which is given to your brother. For another of your family again a sop has been provided by some fresh memoranda of Caesar. All this however one can put up with; the one thing which is quite intolerable is that a man can be found to

¹ Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, afterwards the triumvir, was connected with Cassius by marriage, both of them having married sisters of Marcus Brutus; and a son of his had recently married a daughter of Marcus Antonius. It was the right of Brutus, as the city praetor, to preside at the Games of Apollo, which were held on July 6, but in his absence Lucius Cassius took his place. On such an occasion some applause of the President was natural; but at this period applause was seldom given without being interpreted as having a political meaning. See Letter cvi. note 2. The other connexion of Cassius here alluded to, and the man who expected his son to be consul, are quite unknown.

think of his son being elected consul in the year which properly belongs to you two, and openly boast for such a reason that he is the bond-slave of this cut-throat. For as to my dear friend, Lucius Cotta, he cannot help, he says, being a prey to irresistible despair, and he does not come so much to the Senate; Lucius Caesar, one of our best and bravest citizens, is hindered by his health; Servius Sulpicius, who has both very great authority and most truly patriotic sentiments, is not here. Excuse me if I do not take into account any other people as being of consular rank, excepting the two who have been nominated for next year.² Here you have all the leaders of the national policy: and if it would be a scanty number enough at the best of times, what does it seem to you in such a hopeless case? All our hope therefore is in you two; and if you have no reason for absence now except that you may be in some place of safety, it is not to be found even in you. But if you are now engaged on some scheme worthy of your glorious name, may this happen before I am taken! If however that be too great a boon, the Republic shall nevertheless in a short time re-assert by your hands her ancient rights. I for my part am not, nor ever will be, forgetful of those whom you love; whether they appeal to my judgment or not, my devotion and loyalty to you shall always be manifest. Adieu.

CXIX. (AD FAM. XII. 23.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS IN AFRICA.

October, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

For an account of Quintus Cornificius see Letter ciii. At this time he was Governor of the old province of Africa, but Antonius now wanted to supersede him and replace the ex-Governor Gaius Calvisius Sabinus. Phil. iii. 10, 26.

The hollow friendship between Octavianus and Antonius did not last long. Much excitement had even been caused at Rome by the report of an attempt made by Octavianus upon the life of the consul, which is mentioned by a great many writers, but was vehemently denied by Octavianus, and rests upon doubtful evidence at best. 'Cicero alludes to the rumour,' says Dean Merivale, 'and insinuates its truth, but he is evidently trying to encourage his corre-

² Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius.

'spondent Cornificius by representing the precariousness of the consul's power ; 'and after all he cannot help admitting that it was generally disbelieved.' Two months later (*Phil.* iii. 8, 19) he asserts it as notorious, and that he had himself suggested it ! Soon afterwards Antonius left for Brundisium to encourage the four legions commanded by his brother Gaius, which had been summoned from Macedonia, but were now greatly irritated at the immunity allowed to Caesar's murderers. Octavianus meanwhile was enlisting a strong force in Campania.

The date of this letter is apparently about the middle of October, because we find that by the 25th Cicero was at Puteoli.

Merivale, iii. 139-143 ; Abeken, 422-426 ; Forsyth, 465.

1 The whole position of your government and the state of affairs in the province has been fully described to me by Tratorius. Oh, how many intolerable burdens there are in every quarter ! But in proportion as your position is higher, that which has befallen you is even less to be endured ; for it does not follow that what you calmly bear, thanks to the magnanimity both of your temper and intellect, is not to be avenged, even if it is not to be repined at. But of this hereafter.

2 I am quite sure that a gazette of the news in town is sent to you ; if I did not suppose this to be the case I would myself describe things in full, and above all the attempt of Octavianus Caesar. About this the opinion of the mass of people is that it is a charge trumped up by Antonius, to enable him to make a raid upon the young heir's estate : men however who are keen-sighted and patriotic not only believe that it really happened, but commend it. At any rate there are great hopes in him : there is nothing in the world that he is not thought likely to do for the sake of name and fame. As to our very dear friend Antonius, he perceives that he is such an object of hatred that after having himself detected men employed to assassinate him in his own house he does not venture to make the matter public ! On the 9th of October he was off for Brundisium to meet the four legions from Macedonia, which he proposes to bring to Rome, having first attached them to himself by bribery, and plant them firmly on our necks.

3 Such is the form of our constitution, if a 'constitution' can possibly exist in a camp ; and in this respect I often am sorry on your account that owing to your age you have never been

able even so much as to taste the good things of a sound and healthy Republic. Moreover it was always open, at least until the present time, at any rate to live in hope. Now even that has been snatched away ; for what hope is there when Antonius has dared to say before the people that Cannutius was trying to get himself a place with men who, if he was spared, could never have any place allowed them in the commonwealth. For my own part, if I endure this and anything else that can 4 befall a human being I feel that I owe a great debt to philosophy, which not only beguiles me of my anxiety, but even arms me against all the buffets of fortune ; and it is my opinion that not only should you do the same, but that nothing which is free from reproach can be reckoned among misfortunes. But all this it is better to leave to yourself.

Though I have always had reason to esteem our friend Tratorius, it is most particularly in your service that I have learnt to know his extreme loyalty, thoroughness, and tact. Be sure you keep yourself well ; you cannot give me any greater pleasure than this.

CXX. (AD FAM. XI. 4.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS IN CISALPINE GAUL TO CICERO
AT PUTEOLI.

September or October, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

On the dispersion of the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, after remaining in the city longer than the others, assumed the government of Cisalpine Gaul (Northern Italy), which had been promised him by Caesar. Here instead of attempting to play any important part in the critical struggle of the Commonwealth, he amused himself and his soldiers by some useless raids upon the Inalpini, the mountaineers of Savoy and Piedmont. This brief and soldier-like letter is written to ask for Cicero's support for his slender claim to a triumph, which was readily promised. Such anxiety in the circumstances of this terrible crisis curiously reproduces Cicero's own at the very commencement of the Civil War (see Introd. to Letter xlii.) : yet Decimus Brutus was probably on the whole the ablest of the conspirators.

Decimus Brutus in this letter styles himself 'Imperator,' having been so saluted by his soldiers after one of these petty successes, and also 'consul-designate,' as having been nominated by Caesar, together with Lucius Plancus, for the consulship of the year 42 B.C.

Merivale, iii. 114-116; Abeken, 422.

1 Were I in any doubt about your willingness to oblige me I would use many words in making an appeal to you to watch the interests of my position ; but there is no doubt that the truth is as I am firmly convinced—that you take a real interest in me.

I marched against the mountaineers of the Alps, not so much from any ambition of being saluted with military honours, as because I desired to satisfy my troops, and make
 2 them firmly attached to the support of our interests. This object I have now, it seems to me, attained, since they have had proof of both my liberality and my courage. I have waged war against the most warlike people in the world, taken many and plundered many of their villages : I felt justified in sending a despatch to the Senate. Give me the advantage of your support in the House ; when you do this you will to an important extent have been subserving the interests of the Commonwealth.

CXXI. (AD ATT. XVI. 8.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

November 2, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Octavianus having by lavish bounties succeeded in enlisting 10,000 men in Campania, marched with them to Ravenna, where his numbers were still further increased, and then fixed his head-quarters at Arretium (Arezzo). It was now evident that the sword would shortly be drawn. Antonius hearing of these proceedings hastened back from Brundisium to Rome, in order to obtain further powers from the Senate against Octavianus. See Introd. to Letter cxxiii.

Merivale, iii. 140-144 ; Abeken, 428-432 ; Forsyth, 464-466.

1 As soon as I know on what day I am likely to come I will take care to let you know. I must wait for the heavy baggage, which is on its way from Anagnia, and there is some illness in the house. A letter for me from Octavianus on the evening of the 1st ;—he has great schemes. The veterans who are at Casilinum and Calatia¹ he has entirely brought

¹ Casilinum is the modern town of Capua, about three miles from the old town ; Calatia is now Le Galazze, about six miles in the opposite direction. Many of Caesar's veterans had received grants of land in these parts.

over to his views—no wonder; his bounty is 500 denarii apiece!² He proposes to go the round of the other military settlements: obviously what he has in view is to put himself at the head of an army to fight Antonius; and so I see that in a few days we shall be under arms. Who however is to be our leader? Think of his name, think of his age. And he writes to ask that in the first place I will grant him a strictly private interview either at Capua, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of Capua. Surely it is childish if he supposes that this could possibly be private. I have written to inform him that what he asks is neither necessary nor practicable. He sent one Caecina of Volaterrae, an intimate friend of his,³ to me; who brought the news that Antonius was advancing with the Fifth⁴ towards Rome, exacting loans from the country towns, and marching under flying colours. He wanted to consult me whether he should set out for Rome with three thousand of the veterans, or occupy Capua and cut off the route of Antonius, or go to meet the three Macedonian legions now making their way by the coast-road along the Adriatic, which are, he hopes, all for him. They refused, at any rate according to this man's account, to accept a largess from Antonius, and after some vehement abuse of him left him in the middle of his harangue. In short he offers himself as our leader, and thinks it will not be right for us to fail him. I myself recommended that he should proceed to Rome, because it seems to me that he will have not only the starveling mob of the city, but—provided he has given guarantees of his sincerity—the good men too on his side. Oh, Brutus! where are you now? what a *belle occasion* you are losing! I did not indeed prophesy this, but I expected that something of the kind would happen.

Now I am trying every way to get your advice. Am I

² The denarius at this time was worth (see Dict. Ant., 393) about 8½d., which would make the bounty between £17 and £18. Antonius was afterwards obliged to raise his own bounty to the same sum.

³ This is perhaps the son of Cicero's friend Caecina, mentioned Letter xci. 13.

⁴ The famous Fifth legion, called the Alaudae (Larks) from a crest on the helmet, was first raised in Transalpine Gaul by Caesar. It remained throughout faithful to Antonius.

coming to Rome, or stopping here, or shall I take refuge at Arpinum—it is a place which is now *à l'abri*? Rome, I think,⁵ in case I should be wanted if it shall hereafter appear that something has really been done. So give me the answer to this: I have never felt more *aux abois* in my life.

CXXII. (AD ATT. XVI. 11.)

FROM CICERO AT PUTEOLI TO ATTICUS AT ROME.

November 5, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

Towards the end of October Cicero completed the Second Philippic, and sent it to Atticus to be revised. The present letter is in part an acknowledgment of the criticisms passed, which, considering the length and passionate imprudence, as well as the splendid eloquence of the great Philippic, are of the most trivial character, and not calculated to raise our ideas of the critical power of Atticus. The allusions in the first paragraph are taken by Boot and others to refer to the treatise on 'Glory,' which had been sent in July to Atticus (Ad Att. xvi. 2, 6), but it is quite possible that the whole section refers to the Second Philippic only.

The Second Philippic was never delivered, but was published at the end of November, after the departure of Antonius, as though it had been spoken on September 19. Its immediate effect was very considerable, as it made Cicero again the virtual leader of the Senate, and this period of his life is generally considered its most admirable one by his biographers.

Cicero's literary activity at this time was no less than his political. Besides a mass of letters to nearly all the members of the Senatorial party abroad, the series of Philippics, the two books on Glory (a MS. of these was in the possession of Petrarch, but has since been lost), and other works, he published about this time his graceful treatise on Duty (*De Officiis*), based on the Stoic philosopher Panaetius.

The present letter, which is unusually difficult and abounds in obscure allusions, is the last in this selection addressed to Atticus. Only four or five of the extant letters to Atticus are of later date, and it is probable that hardly any others were written, because early in December Cicero joined Atticus at Rome, and the two friends were not again separated till shortly before Cicero's murder. Atticus remained, characteristically, on friendly terms with both Antonius and Octavianus, and died in 32 B.C. His daughter Attica, so often mentioned in these letters, married Marcus Agrippa; and their daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the first wife of the Emperor Tiberius.

Merivale, iii. 150, 151; Abeken, 426-429; Forsyth, 457, 465, 468; Dict. Biog. i. 733; Watson, Appendix iii.

1 To-day—the 5th—I have received two letters from you, one of which you had written on the 1st, the other the day before: so now for the earlier one first.

⁵ The omission of the verb is very harsh, and Boot would insert *malo*.

I am very glad you like my work ; of which you have certainly named ‘*les fleurs*’ ; and it seems to me now after your criticism to blossom with these more than it did before, because I was terribly afraid of that little red pencil of yours. As to the affair of Sicca it is just as you say ; only it was difficult to keep myself clear of the woman.¹ And so without the slightest defamation of Sicca or Septimia I will lay the lash on just sufficiently for ‘our sons’ sons, to ages yet unborn’ to possess the knowledge—and that too not ‘walled up,’ as Lucilius used to say he liked²—that this man has had children born to him by a daughter of Fadius Gallus.³ And oh ! that I may live to see the day when that speech may go about everywhere so freely as actually to make its way into Sicca’s own house : but to do that we must have such times back as there were *under the triumvirs*.⁴ May I die if that is not rather neatly put ! You however will of course read it to Peducaeus, and write his opinion of it in full—*son avis seul en vaut dix mille autres*. You will be careful that Fufius and

¹ See Phil. ii. 2, § 3. Sicca was a Sicilian friend of Cicero, with whose wife Septimia Antonius had an intrigue (compare note 4, below) ; and it seems that at Atticus’s suggestion Cicero suppressed the details of a suit improperly hushed up by Antonius, out of regard for his friend Sicca, whose wife was compromised. For *asta ea*, read *ab ista* (Boot) or *a Septimia* (Tyrrell-Purser).

² ‘Lucilius used to say that he did not wish to be read by the learned or the unlearned.’ (De Orat. ii. 6. 25.) Many of his fragments are only φωνάρτα συνεργοῖσιν. Gurlitt conjectures φαλλῶφ, ‘like Lucilius, but without *des ordures*.’

³ Phil. ii. 2, 3. Antonius’s second wife, Fadia, was the daughter of a freedman, Quintus Fadius. This was regarded as a terrible *mésalliance*.

⁴ This is one of the most disputed passages in the whole of the letters. Mr. Watson says ‘which we had under the triumvirs, i.e. from 59-53 B.C., a reference perhaps to the greater freedom which prevailed.’ Surely this would be a simple statement, without any of the pleasantry attributed to it by Cicero. Prof. Nettleship has suggested to Mr. Watson, ‘the times which are over now that those three Antonii (Marcus, Gaius, and Lucius) are our triumvirs.’ This might just possibly be considered a joke by Cicero, but it is intolerably harsh, and also involves a doubtful use of *illis*, which would rather be *his* or *istis*. Gronovius and Orelli explain somewhat similarly, but read *quo fuerint* and *illi*, =when these three are dead. Schütz, Boot, and Billerbeck think Caesar and Pompeius are called ‘*iii viri*’ as having both been married three times—a very forced joke. I believe the point referred to in ‘*facete*’ to be a *double entendre* of *iii viri* (triumvirs) and the *tres viri* (lovers) of Septimia. Cicero says, ‘I want my speech to make its way into Sicca’s house, however he may try to keep it out, but to penetrate there we ought to have the days of the “triumvirate” back again, when Antonius and two unnamed lovers who had an intrigue with Septimia used frequently to make their way in.’

2 Matius⁵ do not drop in at the time. As for your fear of being thought a '*jaseur*,' could any one be less? and to me too, to whom every letter of yours seems best when it is longest, just as Aristophanes said of a satire of Archilochus. And as for your 'lecturing' me, why even if you were to begin fault-finding I should not only put up with it easily, but should be positively pleased, since your fault-finding combines penetration with *bienveillance*. So I will willingly correct those points which have been noted by you: 'the same title, I suppose, as he had to the wealth of Rubrius' instead of to that of Scipio;⁶ and I will cut down the piling-up of Dolabella's praises. And yet in the very place you mean there is, it seems to me, a delicate *soupçon* of irony in saying that 'thrice upon the battle-field he met his fellow-countrymen.'⁷ Again, I prefer 'it is most disgraceful that he should be still alive' to 'what can be more disgraceful?'⁸

3 I am not sorry to find you approve of the 'Procession of Worthies' which Varro (from whom I have not succeeded in getting his 'Heracleidia') is thinking of.⁹ And as to your exhortations to me to write, from you it comes in a friendly

⁵ Quintus Fufius Calenus, who is mentioned in Letter xi. § 1, had been a supporter of Clodius, and was now a personal friend of Antonius, and therefore hateful to Cicero: on Matius, see Letter cvi. note 1.

⁶ Phil. ii. 40, 103. Cicero seems to have accused Antonius of getting Scipio's villa at Tibur by underhand means, but owing to this suggestion of Atticus the name of Lucius Rubrius was substituted, who had bequeathed to him, apparently rather for political than personal reasons, a villa at Casinum in Latium.

⁷ Phil. ii. 30, 75. 'Thrice did Caesar fight with his own countrymen—in Thessaly, in Africa, in Spain. At each of these battles was Dolabella present . . . but what shall we say of you?' Cicero therefore did not expunge the passage, but he may have toned it down.

⁸ Phil. ii. 34, 86. As the passage however retains the second of these two forms it is uncertain whether Cicero changed, though reluctantly, at Atticus's suggestion what he had written, or whether he omitted to make a change which he thought a good one.

⁹ The work which Cicero here calls 'Peplographia' is apparently Varro's 'Hebdomades, sive Imagines,' one of the most curious and interesting productions of antiquity. It consisted of a series of 700 portraits of celebrated men, apparently reproduced by some lost method of engraving which had been lately discovered, with a short life and an epigram attached to each. The name is difficult to render adequately: it alludes to the Athenian procession of the 'Peplus,' or sacred vestment of Athene, on which were embroidered mythological and heroic subjects. Varro had a fondness for strange Greek

way, but I can assure you that I do nothing else as it is. Your influenza is troubling me; do, I entreat you, be as careful as ever. It is pleasant to hear that my 'De Senectute'¹⁰ is doing you good. As to those people of Anagnia, I meant 'le Capitaine' Mustela, and Laco, who is a mighty toper.¹¹ The book which you ask for¹² I will give the last polish to, and let you have it.

Now I have to answer the second letter. The 'De Officiis,'⁴ so far as Panaetius goes, I have completed in two books; there are three in his, but though in the prefatory part he divides the methods of inquiry about duty into three—the first being when we deliberate whether anything is honourable or base, the second, whether it is or is not to our interest, the third how we are to make our decision when these two characteristics seem to be mutually conflicting, as was the case for example with Regulus, when honour bade him go back, self-interest remain where he was—he has treated the first two splendidly, and promises to proceed at once to the third, but has not written anything; this part has been thoroughly followed up by Posidonius. I have not only sent to get his book, but have written to Athenodorus Calvus to send me a *précis* of his divisions, which I am now expecting; will you please remind and intreat him to lose no time? In this comes the chapter which he entitles 'On the Casuistry of Duty.' And speaking

titles. See Teuffel, Roman Literature, i. 240, 244; Bekker, Gallus, 30; Cruttwell, Roman Literature, 150; Dict. Biogr. iii. 1226; Dict. Ant. 856. The principal ancient account of it is in Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxv. 2. The 'Heracleidia' seems to be a philosophical work based on Heracleides of Pontus.

¹⁰ The treatise on Old Age is called here 'O Tite,' because it begins with some verses of Ennius, addressed to Titus Flamininus, the conqueror of Macedonia.

¹¹ In the Second Philippic (42, § 106) Cicero speaks of Antonius 'having with him two men of Anagnia, Mustela and Laco, one of whom is his first swordsman, the other his first cups-man.' As Atticus did not understand the allusion these names must have been omitted in the first draft.

¹² This is generally supposed to be the 'Topica,' an adaptation in Latin of Aristotle's work of the same name, which treats of the Invention of Arguments. The history of this book is interesting. Trebatius the jurist had complained to Cicero that he could not find any plain explanation of Aristotle's meaning. When Cicero started on his interrupted voyage, the sight of Velia, with which Trebatius was connected, reminded him of this, and he drew up the work from memory. Ad Fam. vii. 19; Dict. Biog. i. 726; Forsyth, 444; Abeken, 415.

of your question about the name of the book I have no doubt but that *officium* is a proper equivalent of *καθῆκον*, unless you have any other suggestion, but the title more in full will be ‘*De Officiis*.’ The dedication is *Ad Marcum filium*: this seemed to me not at all *mal-à-propos*.

5 As to Mytilus, it was clear to the bottom.¹³ How you always did hit off those fellows! And against Decimus Brutus too! May they have their deserts!

6 I did not do as I said in my letter, and hide away in my house at Pompeii, first because of the weather, which could not possibly have been fouler, and moreover every day I had a letter from Octavianus asking me to undertake his cause, and be a second time the saviour of the Republic; and to come to Capua, or at all events at once to Rome. Between fear of accepting and shame at refusing

‘hac urget pudor, hac metus, aiunt.’¹⁴

However he certainly has acted and is acting with vigour. He will bring a large force to Rome, but then he is the merest boy; he thinks that the Senate can be convoked in a moment. Who will come? Who, if he does come, will where everything is so doubtful make an enemy of Antonius? When the new year comes perhaps he will be a protection, or else indeed the struggle will actually be fought out to the end before then. Boy though he is, the country-towns seem to be marvellously in favour of him, for when he passed through Cales on his march to Samnium, and halted at Teanum, the *accueil* he received and the cheerings on were astonishing. Could you believe this? Owing to this circumstance I shall to Rome quicker than I had arranged for: as soon as ever I have made my plans I will write.

7 Though I have not read the conditions—Eros has not yet arrived—still I should like you to effect a settlement on the

¹³ A man named Mytilus had been accused of attempting the life of Antonius, and it was said, not unnaturally, that he was instigated by Decimus Brutus. Cicero's indignation makes him here too spasmodic for literal translation.

¹⁴ Cicero is quoting from Homer, Il. vii. 93, where the Greeks are afraid to accept but ashamed to refuse Hector's challenge. The line given is of course a variation of the proverb in Horace, Sat. ii. 2, 64.

12th. I shall be better able to send letters to Catina, Tauromenium, and Syracuse, when the interpreter, Valerius, has let me have the names of the influential people, because these vary at different times, and those whom I was intimate with have mostly died off; still I have written some in an official form, which Valerius can make use of if he thinks good, or else he can let me have the names.

I hear from Balbus about Lepidus's vacation—it is to last ⁸ until the 30th.¹⁵ I shall wait for a letter from you, and I suppose I shall hear about the little matter of business with Torquatus. I send you Quintus's letter to show you how much he loves his boy, and he is hurt to find you do not much like him. Give Attica a kiss for being such a merry little thing—it is the greatest charm in children,—and tell her that it comes from me.

CXXIII. (AD FAM. XI. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO DECIUS IUNIUS BRUTUS IN CISALPINE GAUL.

About the middle of December, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

This letter, like Nos. cxxv. cxxvi. and cxxvii., seems to be one of a series which Cicero wrote to encourage the leading partisans of the Senate in the provinces, Decimus Brutus in Northern Italy, Marcus Brutus in Macedonia, Cassius in Syria, and Trebonius in Asia Minor.

The consuls for the new year were Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, both moderate Caesarians, but opposed to the proceedings of Antonius. The latter was an officer and author of some ability; he wrote the conclusion of Caesar's Gallic War. Antonius on the 28th of November marched with four legions against Decimus Brutus, who shut himself up in Mutina (Modena), the strongest fortress of his province, where he was immediately besieged.

Merivale, iii. 144, 153, 158; Abeken, 434, 435; Forsyth, 472-475.

Though our friend Lupus did come from you and was staying some days in town, I was at the time in different places wherever I thought I could most safely be; thus it happened

¹⁵ Lepidus had succeeded Caesar as Pontifex Maximus, and it is thought that this refers to days fixed by him in that capacity for taking the auspices, which would imply a vacation of the Senate. But the allusion is somewhat doubtful.

that Lupus returned to you without a letter from me, and that too though he had taken care to see that yours was safely delivered to me. I came to Rome however on the 11th of December, and considered it my earliest duty to call at once on Pansa, from whom I have learnt about you the very things I most wanted to hear. And assuredly you are not one to need encouragement in this matter, if you wanted no one to encourage you even in that great deed of yours, the greatest ever done in the history of mankind. This
2 much however should perhaps be briefly pointed out: that the people of Rome expect everything from you, and rest upon you all the hope they have of one day recovering their liberties. But if you bear in mind night and day—as full well I know you do—how great that work is which you have already done, then assuredly you will never forget how great are those which you are called upon even now to do: for if the province is once in the possession of your opponent (to whom I myself indeed was always friendly until I saw not only confessedly but even with wanton malice he was waging war against the liberties of his country), I see no hope of salvation
3 yet left. I therefore approach you with the prayer which is offered also by the Senate and people of Rome, that for ever you will set the Republic free from the tyranny of a king, and let the last act of your drama be suited to the first. Yours only is this duty, yours to play the part: from you your country, nay rather the whole world, not only looks for this, but even demands it as a right. And yet since, as I said before, you do not need encouragement, I will not attempt it here at any length. That which really is my part I will do—I will promise you my zeal and service, my care and study, in all that¹ shall be seen to concern your name and glory. I trust therefore you will rest fully assured that not only for the welfare of our country, which is dearer to me than life itself, but also that from personal regard, and a desire to see your position yet more raised in honour, I shall on no occasion whatever fail to support your truly excellent policy, your dignity, or your fame.

¹ It is easy to supply *ad ea*, but *quae* may refer to *officia*, etc.

CXXIV. (AD FAM. XII. 22.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS, GOVERNOR OF AFRICA.

End of December, 710 A.V.C. (44 B.C.)

After the departure of Antonius for Gaul, both consuls being absent from the city, the tribunes convened the Senate for the 20th of December, when Cicero delivered his Third Philippic, proposing to annul the grant of Cisalpine Gaul to Antonius. This was followed immediately by his Fourth Oration, which was addressed to the people with the same object.

Cornificius was now Governor of the Old Province of Africa (compare Letters ciii. and cxix.) He subsequently resisted the authority of the triumvirs, and was killed in battle.

Abeken, 437; Forsyth, 484.

We are waging war here against the vilest hired bravo in 1 the world, our own colleague Antonius, but with weapons unfairly matched, the tongue against the sword. He positively even makes harangues about you, and that shall not go unpunished, for he shall feel who they are that he has wantonly attacked. I suppose however that you have full accounts about all that has happened from other people; from me you have a right to know what is coming. And of this the forecast is truly not difficult: everything is utterly depressed, nor 2 have the good men got any one to lead them, while our Harinodius and Aristogeiton are far away in foreign lands. Pansa is sound at heart, and speaks boldly. Our friend Hirtius is slow in recovering from his illness. As to what will be the result I am entirely at a loss; our one hope however is that at some time or other the people of Rome will show themselves like their ancestors. Assuredly I shall not fail the Republic; and then whatever has befallen me without any fault of mine I shall bear with fortitude. Of this you may be sure, so far as my powers will go: I will be ever watchful of your good name and honours.

On the 20th of December a fairly full House voted with 3 me, among other important and even vital questions, about the Governors now in possession retaining their provinces, and not resigning them to anybody unless he had been appointed

to succeed by an act of the Senate. This course I proposed partly in the interests of the Republic, but principally, I give you my word of honour, with a view to asserting the rights of your position. In the name of our affection therefore I entreat you, in the name of the Commonwealth I exhort you, not to suffer any one to usurp any authority whatever in your province ; and to make all things subservient to the claims of your position, than which there can be nothing more illustrious.

4 I will be frank with you, as our intimacy gives a right to expect : you would have gained the highest commendations from everybody about Sempronius, if you had only followed the instructions of my letter.¹ But that is over now, and is moreover a comparative trifle, while this is a matter of importance : be sure you keep your province in the power of the Republic. I would write more but that your men are in a hurry, so please make my excuses to our friend Chaerippus.

CXXV. (AD FAM. XI. 8.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO DECIMUS BRUTUS IN CISALPINE GAUL.

January, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

See Introduction to Letter cxxiii.

1 Your wife Polla has sent me word that I can, if I like, let you have something by way of a letter just at the very time when I have nothing to write about ; everything being still in suspense on account of our waiting for the envoys, no news of whose success as yet has reached us. These things however I thought should be mentioned : first and foremost, that at Rome the Senate and people are most anxious about you, not only for the sake of their own safety, but also of your honourable position ; for somehow there is a marvellous attraction in your name, and an exceptional affection for yourself among all your fellow-countrymen ; for they all hope and trust that as you before set free the Republic from the monarch, so

¹ Nothing is known of the incident referred to.

you will now from the monarchy. A conscription is going on 2 at Rome and all over Italy, if indeed this is to be called a conscription, when all are voluntarily offering themselves; so strong the fire which has taken hold of every breast, through our craving for liberty, and abhorrence of our long term of slavery.

As to all other matters it is we who ought now to expect a letter from you, about what you yourself, what our friend Hirtius, and what my dear Caesar is doing, both of whose names I hope in a short time to hear coupled with yours in a common victory. It only remains for me to add what, since it is about myself, I expect and prefer that you should learn from others, that upon no occasion whatever do I fail, or will I ever fail, to support the claims of your position.

CXXVI. (AD FAM. XII. 4.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA

Early in February, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Cassius, who was determined to hold Syria against Dolabella, succeeded in collecting a considerable force, principally by the assistance of Deiotarus, King of Galatia. After the murder of Trebonius (see the following letter) he marched into Syria against Dolabella, who committed suicide on the surrender of Laodicea to Cassius.

It will be noticed that both this and the letter to Trebonius which follows commence with the same revolting metaphor (they were probably therefore written at the same time); and it must be remembered that the fate which Cicero afterwards met with, he himself desired to inflict on Antonius. The author of these two letters, and of many passages in the *Philippics*, neither had a claim to nor expected any quarter.

Dict. Biog. iii. 1171; Merivale, iii. 161; Abeken, 466.

I could wish that you had asked me to your dinner on the 1 Ides of March: there would then have been nothing left over. Now it is your leavings which are giving me all the trouble, and indeed to me beyond everybody else. It is true we have admirable consuls, but most contemptible ex-consuls; a bold Senate, but bold in proportion to their inferiority of office. Nothing however could be bolder, nothing better, than the spirit of the people, and than Italy as a nation; nothing on

the other hand more disgraceful, more utterly infamous, than the embassy of Philippus and Piso;¹ who having been sent to convey certain peremptory instructions of the Senate to Antonius, have gone out of their way to report to us, though he failed to pay obedience to a single one of these conditions, the intolerable terms he seeks to impose ; and the consequence is that everybody flocks to me, and in a really sound measure I find myself at last a popular hero.

2 But as to you, what you are doing, what you intend to do, in fact where you are now, I do not know. Report says that you have gone to Syria ; nobody in particular is the authority. The reports which reach us about Brutus seem, as he is nearer, to be better established. Dolabella was severely criticised by some of those people who make caustic remarks, for being in such a hurry to become your successor when you had hardly had even your month's grace in Syria ;² it being therefore clear that he had no right to be admitted into Syria. There are great encomiums on you and Brutus, because you are believed to have succeeded in raising an army before we could have hoped for it. I would write more if I knew the whole case and its merits ; as it is, my remarks in this letter are written on the general impression and the reports in society. I greedily look for a letter from you. Adieu.

CXXVII. (AD FAM. X. 28.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS TREBONIUS AT SMYRNA.

Early in February, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Trebonius soon after the murder of Caesar assumed the government of Asia Minor. He probably never received this letter, because in this month Dolabella surprised and murdered him at Smyrna, for having sent assistance to Cassius. (See the preceding letter.) He was the first victim among the conspirators, nearly all of whom, it was noticed, died a violent death. His character does not entitle him to any commiseration, but the incident at once changed Cicero's

¹ See Introd. to Letter cxxviii.

² By a law of Sulla a Governor was allowed a month's grace for leaving his province after the arrival of his successor. But Dolabella, remarked these caustic critics, wanted Cassius to begin his month's grace immediately on his arrival.

late absurd panegyrics of Dolabella (see Letter cxi.) into the equally extravagant abuse of the later Philippics.

Dict. Biog. iii. 1171; i. 1059; Merivale, iii. 163, 164; Abeken, 450; Forsyth, 496. Mr. Forsyth here repeats Cicero's wildest exaggerations as if they were history.

How I wish you had invited me to that splendid banquet 1 on the Ides of March! we should not have had anything left over. Whereas it is the leavings with which I now have so much trouble that even your immortal gift to your country has something in it for complaint. In fact there are times when—in me however this is almost sinful—I am disposed to be angry when I think that it was you, one of our good men and true, who took him aside,¹ and that thanks entirely to your kindness this pest is still alive; since to me alone you have left more trouble than to all other people besides myself put together. From the first moment indeed that, after Antonius's disgraceful departure, the Senate could come together freely I brought myself back to the spirit of old days, which you, like your father, the most enthusiastic of patriots, had ever on your lips and in your love.² For when the tribunes 2 had convened the Senate for the 20th of December, and were introducing a proposal on another matter, I dealt with the whole question of the position of the Republic in my speech, and urged this point with the utmost vehemence; and more by the force of my enthusiasm than my abilities called back our now drooping and exhausted Senate to its ancient energy and character. This day, together with my own efforts and proposals, has first brought the people of Rome a vision of the recovery of their liberties; nor indeed have I myself since then allowed any interval to elapse without not merely thinking but taking action for the Republic. And but for the fact that 3 the news from town and all that goes on is, I suppose, reported to you, I would myself describe it in full, although I am hampered by engagements of the utmost importance. But such things as these you shall learn from other people; from

¹ This incident is mentioned also in Phil. ii. 14, 34, and by Plutarch. It was assuredly not done out of kindness, though the principle of shedding no blood but the monarch's may have been stipulated by some; probably however it was chiefly from his known courage, strength, and devotion to Caesar.

² The similarity of sound, *ore*, *amore*, is probably intentional.

me only one or two, and those very briefly. We have a Senate that is resolute: ex-consuls in some cases timid, in others ill-affected: in Sulpicius we have had a great loss.³ Lucius Caesar is on the right side in feeling, but because his nephew is concerned he does not favour very rigorous proposals. The consuls are most admirable; Decimus Brutus a noble example; Caesar a youth of singular ability, who will, I myself expect, go on as he has begun. However this at least you may take as certain, that if he had not rapidly enrolled the veterans, and if two legions from the Antonian forces had not transferred themselves to his standard, and thus been a menace in the path of Antonius, there is no kind of wickedness, no kind of cruelty that Antonius was likely to have left alone. This, although I suppose you have already heard it, I wanted to be confirmed to you. I will write more at length if I find that I have more leisure.

CXXVIII. (AD FAM. XII. 5.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA.

Mid-February, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the 1st of January a critical debate of four days was opened on the motion of Quintus Fufius Calenus, who was called upon to speak first by the new consuls, that the Senate should despatch an embassy to negotiate with Antonius. Against this proposal Cicero delivered his Fifth Philippic, urging that Antonius should be declared a public enemy. The proposal of Calenus however was adopted, and Servius Sulpicius (the author of the celebrated Letter, No. xcvi.), Lucius Piso, and Lucius Philippus were chosen ambassadors, to demand an unconditional submission. Sulpicius, who was in bad health, died before reaching the camp, and the Ninth Philippic is chiefly a tribute to his memory. To Piso and Philippus Antonius replied by exorbitant counter-demands, including the government of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions taken from Decimus Brutus, the ratification of previous grants of land to the soldiers, and a further confirmation of Caesar's memoranda. The envoys returned with this report about the end of January, which excited Cicero's indignation against them (see Letter cxxvi. § 1), and the Eighth Philippic, delivered in February, insists on the necessity of an immediate declaration of war. Early in January Hirtius marched with a few troops northwards, leaving Pansa to collect fresh levies, and Octavianus at once placed his forces at the disposal of the consul. It was evident that if

³ See Introd. to the next Letter.

Octavianus could, as Cicero vehemently contended, be trusted, Antonius must soon be crushed.

Meanwhile Marcus Brutus, having been acknowledged by Quintus Hortensius, the out-going Governor of Macedonia, as his legitimate successor, had secured the province, and kept Gaius Antonius, to whom it had been handed over with the consent of the people by his brother Marcus, shut up in Apollonia. The Tenth Philippic, which was delivered early in March, was spoken in opposition to Fufius Calenus, who proposed to deprive Brutus of his command. Cassius had also been successful in Syria, and was now at the head of a powerful force; and as the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella (see the preceding Letter) had not yet occurred, the hopes of Cicero and the Senatorial party were never brighter than at the date of this letter. Everything however depended on the sincerity of Octavianus.

Merivale, iii. 153-162; Abeken, 439-450; Forsyth, ch. 23; compare Mr. King's Introds. to the Fifth, Eighth, and Tenth Philippics.

I suppose the wintry season has made it impossible for us ¹ as yet to have certain information about what you are doing, and, above all, where you are; everybody however is saying—the wish, I suppose, being father to the thought—that you are in Syria, with adequate forces, a statement the intrinsic probability of which makes it all the more easily accepted. Our dear friend Brutus at any rate has been winning extraordinary distinction; the exploits he has performed being so important and also so unexpected that, welcome as they are in themselves, their rapid execution makes them even more brilliant. But if you also have a firm hold of all that we credit you with, the cause of the Republic is now set on a powerful basis, seeing that from the nearest coast of Greece as far as Egypt itself we shall be found to be strongly fortified by governments and armies which are in the hands of our best citizens. Yet, if I am not mistaken, the present condition of affairs is such that the ultimate issue of the war must apparently depend entirely upon Decimus Brutus. If once, as we hope, he has succeeded in breaking out from Mutina, it seems that there will be no more war remaining. The blockade is now being carried on by exceedingly few troops because Antonius is holding Bononia¹ with a strong garrison. Then our trusty Hirtius is at Claterna,²

¹ Now Bologna; Claterna is (see Dict. Geogr. i. 631) almost the only town on the Aenilian Way which has not preserved its existence in modern times, but about ten miles from Bologna towards Brindisi there is a small village called Quaderna; Forum Cornelium, twelve miles farther, is the modern Imola; Regium Lepidi is now Reggio, half-way between Modena and Parma.

Caesar near Forum Cornelium, both with considerable armies; while Pansa is collecting large forces at Rome by an Italian conscription. Winter has as yet prevented any active operations. Hirtius seems not to intend acting at all without careful consideration, as he frequently intimates in his letters to me. With the exception of Bononia, Regium Lepidi, and Parma, we are assured of the whole of Gaul as most zealous in the cause of the Republic; and even your clients, the Transpadanes, we find surprisingly in sympathy with the cause. The Senate is most resolute, but I have to except the ex-consuls, of whom Lucius Caesar alone is resolute and sincere. We have lost a
3 tower of strength by the death of Servius Sulpicius. The rest are partly spiritless, partly untrustworthy; not a few are jealous of the reputation of such people as they see the Republic delights to honour: the unanimity however of the people of Rome and of the whole of Italy is most remarkable. This is pretty much what I felt it would be well that you should hear of: I merely add a prayer that from that East which holds you now the light of your manliness may shine out in its strength. Farewell.

CXXIX. (AD FAM. X. 31.)

FROM GAIUS ASINIUS POLLIO, GOVERNOR OF WEST SPAIN,
AT CORDOVA TO CICERO AT ROME.

March 16, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Asinius Pollio, after his narrow escape in the African War (see Letter lxxxv.), was appointed by Caesar to the government of Further or Western Spain, the capital of which was Corduba (Cordova). Here after the battle of Munda he maintained a doubtful struggle with Sextus Pompeius, who was carrying on a guerilla warfare; but Lepidus, who was then Governor of Eastern Spain and Southern or Narbonensian Gaul, came to his assistance, and terms were made with Pompeius. In the present struggle between the Senate and Antonius the attitude of Pollio was one of suspense, and probably conciliatory to both sides until the formation of the triumvirate, to which he at once declared his adhesion.

Three of Pollio's letters to Cicero (Ad Fam. x. 31-33) have been preserved, of which this one is in style and matter a fair specimen. Though not a good general, he was after Varro one of the most learned and cultivated statesmen

of his time, in which respect he even deserved the enthusiastic praises of Horace.—*Odes* ii. 1. Tacitus, Quintilian, and Seneca however condemn his style as 'dry,' 'rough,' and 'jerky,' and two or three un-Ciceronian phrases may be noticed even in this letter; but it must be remembered that, like Caelius and Curio, he belongs to the younger school which revolted from the smooth style of Hortensius and Cicero.

Moninsen, iv. 610; Merivale, iii. 162; Abeken, 449; Forsyth, 492.

There is no reason at all for you to be surprised if since 1 an appeal was made to the sword I have not written a word to you on the political crisis; for though the range of Castulo,¹ which has always been a bar to our bearers of despatches, is now made more dangerous than ever by the increase of brigandage, still that is far from being so much responsible for the delay as the people who are picketed in every direction on behalf of one or other of the provinces, and who search and detain all bearers of letters. Consequently if a vessel had not brought me letters I should have been entirely ignorant of all that is taking place amongst you. I will now however gladly take the opportunity I have found since navigation has begun, and write to you as frequently as I possibly can.

There is no danger of my being influenced by any con- 2 versation with a man who, though nobody ever likes to see him, is yet not hated half so richly as he deserves, because I dislike him so extremely that there is nothing I should not consider it disagreeable to be associated in with him;² and then my nature and habits incline me rather to a longing for peace and freedom. I have therefore often deeply lamented that first beginning of the Civil War; when however it was not left open to me to belong to neither party, because I had great enemies on both sides, I turned my back on the camp in which I knew well enough I should not be safe from the

¹ This range or forest is now the eastern part, the Sierra di Cazorla, of the great Sierra Morena. The name is supposed to survive in this as well as in the modern Cazlona, close to the mining town of Linares, about seventy miles from Cordova. *Dict. Geogr.* i. 565. The range was on the borders of the two provinces, and directly in the way of an overland route to Italy.

² The reference is obscure. It may be to Pollio's quaestor, Lucius Cornelius Balbus the younger, whom Pollio evidently disliked; see *Ad Fam. x. 32*. Balbus was a warm friend of Caesar, and may therefore have been supposed by Cicero to be influencing Pollio in favour of Antonius. It is scarcely possible, I think, that Pollio would use these words, as Manutius believes, of Antonius himself.

intrigues of an opponent:³ but driven in a direction in which I was anything but anxious to go, in order that I might not be left amongst the hindmost I may frankly say I met perils **3** without shrinking. As to Caesar it is true that I loved him with the utmost reverence and loyalty, because he admitted me, who had only become known to him in the height of his fortune, to the place of one of his oldest friends. In all that was left to me to manage according to my own sentiments I acted so that the best citizens would most decisively applaud my conduct; what I was ordered I did in such way as to let time and manner show that the command was laid on me against my will. Now the utterly unjust odium of this procedure has succeeded in teaching me the lesson how sweet is liberty, how wretched is life under the rule of a master. If this therefore is the question involved, that everything should again be in the hands of one man, to that man, whoever he is, I throw down my gage; nor is there any kind of danger whatever to escape which I would use either flight or entreaty **4** in a struggle for liberty. But the consuls have given me no information, either by a decree of the Senate or by a letter from themselves, as to what I ought to do; indeed, only now when it is past the middle of March have I at length received one letter from Pansa, in which he urges me to write to the Senate that I and my army will be at their disposal; which, seeing that Lepidus was delivering harangues and writing to everybody that he is in full harmony with Antonius, was most untoward; for what supplies had I to take my legions against his will through his province? Or even if I had once surmounted the other difficulties, could I fly across the Alps too when they are guarded by his troops? Add to this that despatches could not under any circumstances be safely transmitted, because they are thoroughly scrutinised in hundreds of places; and then even the messengers are detained by **5** Lepidus. This at any rate nobody will call in question, that I stated before a public meeting at Cordova that I would not give up the province to any person whatever, unless he was one who came by the authority of the Senate, for as to giving

³ Possibly Gaius Cato, who had been prosecuted by Pollio (Letter xxviii. 4); Mr. Watson suggests Labienus.

up the Thirtieth legion, why should I trouble you with the arguments I have had about it? Is there any one who does not see how much weaker I must have been to defend the Republic if I did give it up? I assure you you may believe that nothing braver or more ready for fighting than this legion can be found anywhere. Think of me therefore as a man who is first of all things eager for peace, for I fully admit that what I desire is that all our fellow-countrymen should be left safe; but granting this, one who is quite prepared to insist on his own and his country's claim to liberty.

It gives me more pleasure than you imagine that you ⁶ include my dear friend ⁴ in the number of your own; I begrudge him however his walking and joking with you. How much, do you say, would I give for this privilege? Well, if it shall ever again have been granted us to live in peace you shall put it to the test, for I never mean to stir a step from your side. At one thing I am extremely surprised—that you have not written to me whether by staying in my province or marching with an army into Italy I should be better able to do my duty to the Republic. Though it is safer and less laborious for me to remain where I am, I have nevertheless determined for my own part, as things are at present, to march with an army, because I see that at such a crisis there is far more need of troops than of provinces—particularly such as can be recovered without the slightest trouble. For the rest, you will learn everything from the letter I have written to Pansa, of which I herewith send you a copy.

Cordova, March 16.

CXXX. (AD FAM. X. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS,
GOVERNOR OF TRANSALPINE GAUL.

March 20, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Munatius Plancus was made by Caesar Governor of all Transalpine Gaul, except the old province (Narbonne), which was held by Lepidus in conjunction

⁴ Probably Gaius Cornelius Gallus, the poet; see Ad Fam. x. 32, 5.

with Eastern Spain. In this very year he founded the great city of Lugdunum (Lyon), which soon became the capital. Plancus, like Pollio and Lepidus, was waiting to see how fortune would turn out, but in a manifesto (Letter cxxxii.) he assured the Senate of his loyalty. For his subsequent proceedings, see Letter cxxxix.

Plancus now becomes one of Cicero's most frequent correspondents; Letters cxxx., cxxxiii., and cxlii. being addressed to him, cxxxii., cxl., cxlvii., and cxlviii. written by him. His character is generally painted in very black colours by historians, but he must have possessed some ability to secure as he did the confidence of both Caesar and Octavianus, and he has the distinction of being addressed in an ode of Horace (i. 7). This letter is written in a stilted, almost bombastic tone, which rather recalls some of the letters of an earlier period.

Merivale, iii. 162; Abeken, 449, 457; Forsyth, 500, 501.

- 1 So far as our good friend Furnius informed us about your disposition towards the Republic it was an account most welcome to the Senate, and considered most satisfactory by the people of Rome, whereas your letter which was read in the House seemed to be by no means in agreement with the language of Furnius; for you constituted yourself an adviser of a pacific settlement, your illustrious colleague being at that very time held in siege by the foulest of brigands, whose duty it is to lay down their arms before they sue for peace, or else, if they demand it with arms in their hands, that peace must be the fruit of a victory, not of a compromise. But what interpretation was put on the letters proposing a peace, yours as much as that of Lepidus, you will have the opportunity of learning from your excellent brother, and from Gaius Furnius.
- 2 Though however you are not one to need advice for yourself, and though the devotion and faithful care of your brother and Furnius would soon be at your service, I have yet been stimulated by affection for you to wish that some advice of mine could reach you, coming with the authority that our many ties of intimacy can give it. Take my word for it therefore, my dear Plancus, that all men will consider the honourable grades of dignity you have attained to—and you indeed have secured the highest prizes—but as so many nominal titles of office, not the distinguishing marks of merit, unless you are found to have enrolled yourself on the side of the liberty of the Roman people and the authority of the Senate. Separate yourself, I entreat you, even at this hour from those with whom you have been united, not by your own judgment, but by the accidental

ties of the times. Many there are in these disturbed days of 3 the Republic who have enjoyed the title of Consul, not one of whom is admitted to have been a Consul indeed, but he who has shown that he truly felt himself Consul of the Republic. Of such a character therefore does it behove you to be as, first of all, to sever all connexion with those disloyal citizens so utterly unlike you ; secondly, to constitute yourself a counsellor, a guide, a leader, to the Senate and all good citizens ; lastly, to recognise the truth that peace consists not in disarmament but in casting away all dread of arms and of slavery. Let such be your acts and your convictions, and then you will be not merely a Consul, or one who has held that title, but a great Consul, and one to whom that title is great ; but do otherwise, and in the very names of the proudest honours you enjoy there will not only be no dignity, but the most hideous disgrace.

Impelled by my regard for you I have written these words with somewhat more than ordinary seriousness, which, if you put them to the test in the only way that is worthy of yourself, you will find to be the words of truth.

March 20.

CXXXI. (AD FAM. X. 27.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS,
GOVERNOR OF EASTERN SPAIN, AND OF THE OLD PROVINCE
OF GAUL.

March 20, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Lepidus, afterwards the triumvir, was now becoming one of the most important persons in the intricate political game. Holding Eastern Spain and Narbonensian Gaul, he was able to keep both Plancus in Transalpine Gaul and Asinius Pollio in Western Spain in check if they attempted to move in favour of the Senate, while his force this year was no less than seven legions, including the famous Tenth. He was also Pontifex Maximus, and his son had married the daughter of Antonius, whom therefore he was inclined to support. (See Letter cxxix. § 4.) The Senate, being anxious to conciliate him, had in the previous November voted a public thanksgiving to him for effecting a settlement between Sextus Pompeius and Asinius Pollio (see Introd. to Letter cxxix.), followed by another vote for an equestrian statue and a triumph on January 4. But Lepidus, instead of expressing gratitude for this, wrote to the

Senate recommending them to make terms with Antonius, which provoked the following letter.

Meriva'e, iii. 165; Abeken, 452; Forsyth, 502. Compare the Thirteenth Philippic, ch. 4-7.

1 Seeing that through my warm regard for yourself it is to me a matter of great concern that you should receive the very amplest meed of honour, I was much pained that you omitted to express your obligations to the Senate, after being complimented by that body with the highest distinctions it can bestow. I am glad that you are eager to draw our fellow-countrymen peacefully together: provided you keep this from being confounded with servile submission, you will be consulting the interests of the Republic and of your own high position; but if this ‘peace’ is only to restore an utterly reckless person to the possession of uncontrollable lordship, let me assure you that all sound-minded men are of that **2** temper which prefers death to slavery. And therefore, in my opinion at any rate, you will be acting more wisely if you decline to mix yourself up with the negotiations you allude to, which have the approval neither of the Senate nor the people, nor indeed of any good citizen at all. But this you will hear from others, or be informed of by letter: with that acute judgment of yours you will see for yourself what is the best thing to be done.

CXXXII. (AD FAM. X. 8.)

LETTER ADDRESSED BY LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO
THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME.

March, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

See Letter cxxx. The form of address of this letter is peculiar. Plancus styles himself ‘Imperator,’ for some unknown success, and Consul-Designate as having been nominated by Caesar with Decimus Brutus for 42 B.C.

TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS AND TRIBUNES; THE SENATE,
PEOPLE, AND COMMONS OF ROME.

1 Since it is possible that there may be some one who thinks that I have kept the expectations of the people and the hopes

of the Republic too long in suspense about my personal feelings, I think I ought perhaps to justify myself to this person before I proceed to make any promises about my duty in the future; because I do not wish it to be thought that I have been making an atonement for remissness in the past, instead of choosing at length the fittest moment to enunciate the conclusions I have arrived at after full consideration, and from most loyal feeling.

With me it was far from passing unobserved that amid ² such great and general anxiety, and in so perturbed a condition of the country, a profession of loyal inclinations was found to reap very substantial fruits, by which method I saw several people secure important distinctions for themselves; but since chance had thrown me into the difficult position of either making hasty professions, and so placing impediments in my own road to success, or else of securing opportunities for doing good service all the greater for having refrained myself in this respect, I have held it better that the path of our common safety should be made smooth than that of my own individual ambition. For who in such a rank as I now hold, and after such a life as everybody, I may assume, is familiar with in me, and with such hopes as are now all but in my grasp, can possibly either submit to any degradation, or indulge any pernicious desires whatever?

But I found considerable time, and great exertion, and ³ large expenditure too, to be necessary in order to perform those promises I made to the Republic and to all good citizens, and to come to the help of my country, not naked of means, however loyal in heart, but with resources. I had to encourage my army, which was frequently tempted with magnificent offers, rather to look for moderate rewards from the nation, than the most boundless ones from an individual citizen. I had to encourage numerous states which in the preceding year had been attached by bounties or concessions of advantages, first to regard all these as idle, and then to entertain the idea of suing for the same from donors possessing a better title. I had moreover to draw out the sympathies of the other people in command of the neighbouring provinces and armies, so that we might rather enter into an alliance

of larger numbers to defend our liberty than a coalition of comparatively few to divide a victory deadly to the whole world.

4 It was necessary however to make ourselves secure by increasing the army, and adding greatly to the number of auxiliaries, so that whenever we were to give open indications of our feelings it might not then be a perilous revelation, however much against the wishes of certain people, what principles we intended to support. Therefore I shall never pretend but that in order to accomplish the due executions of these schemes I counterfeited with reluctance and dissembled with pain; because I saw from what had befallen my colleague¹ how dangerous was a premature declaration from a loyal citizen
5 who was not fully prepared. To this moreover is to be assigned the fact that I entrusted my brave and faithful officer, Gaius Furnius, with fuller instructions also by word of mouth than I put in writing, so that not only might they be conveyed to you with more secrecy, but we ourselves might run less risk; and I have informed him of the measures which would be expedient in order to strengthen the safety of the Republic, and to put us in a state of defence. From which it can be seen that anxiety to defend the Republic to the utmost has not only recently been on the watch in me.

6 Now that, with the blessing of Providence, we are in every respect better prepared, we wish that the world should not only hope well of us, but should form its opinion upon indisputable evidence. I have five legions, all in marching order, and not only bound most closely to the cause of the Republic by their own loyalty and bravery, but, owing to our generosity, devoted to their leader; a province which, thanks to the unanimity of all its districts, is in the highest state of preparation, and showing all the eagerness of the keenest rivalry in the pursuit of duty; of cavalry and auxiliary forces as large a number as these nations can ever muster for the defence of their own lives and liberties. As to myself, my resolution is so firmly made that I should not refuse either to protect the interests of the province, or to go where the

¹ Decimus Brutus, now besieged in Mutina; Introd. to Letter cxxiii.

Republic called me, or to hand over to another my army, my auxiliaries, and my province, or to turn the whole shock of the war upon myself, if only by anything that befell me I could either assure the salvation of my country, or even stave off for awhile its peril.

If I am now making this pledge at a moment when all ⁷ difficulties have been smoothed away, and the state of the country is tranquil, even in thus losing credit for myself I shall rejoice at the gain to the Republic; but if I am really stepping forward to share in dangers that are utterly unabated, and of vast magnitude, I commend the policy I have pursued to candid judges to be defended against the detractions of jealousy. Personally indeed I have sufficient reward of my merit laid up in the well-being of the Commonwealth itself; I am bound however, it seems to me, to ask that those who have been led on by my influence and, in a far greater degree, by the pledges you gave, and could neither be beguiled by any hopes nor terrified by any fears, should be considered by you as commended to your good offices.

CXXXIII. (AD FAM. X. 10.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS IN
TRANSALPINE GAUL.

March 30, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Although I had received a satisfactory account from our friend Furnius as to what your sympathies were, and what your intentions as regards the Republic, yet after the reading of your letter I formed a clearer opinion about your feelings as a whole. And therefore, though the whole fate of the Commonwealth is now staking on a single battle—which indeed by the time you read these lines will, I think, have been decided—yet even on the rumour which got abroad about your intentions you earned yourself a great reputation; and so if we had had a Consul at Rome, the Senate would, by bestowing high marks of distinction on yourself, have expressed the gratitude we feel for your proposed schemes and your measures of precaution

And indeed the time for this, so far from having gone in my opinion at any rate, even yet not fully ripe ; for that alone always seems to me to be a public distinction is offered to [and bestowed upon] illustrious men, not in hope of services to come, but in recognition of some merit. Therefore, if only the Commonwealth survive the form under which it will be possible for distinction to forth, our most distinguished honours, believe me, shall be showered upon you ; and surely that which can truly be honour is no bait to allure for the moment, but the proper noble and consistent career.

Do you therefore, my dear Plancus, throw yourself and soul into the struggle for glory ; come to the assistance of your country, give help to your colleague, join in securing that which is the common sentiment, the mind of unanimity indeed, of all nations. You shall find in me to assist your plans, to promote your honours, to be in respect your most faithful and devoted friend ; for reasons which have linked us together, of affection, of loves, and of habit, our love for our fatherland is strong, and this has caused me to regard your life as more precious than my own.

March

CXXXIV. (AD FAM. XII. 6.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA

April, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Apparently written just before the battle of Forum Gallorum, for the next Letter. Cassius was now raising a strong force in Syria to oppose Dolabella. Compare Letters cxxvi. and cxxxviii.

1 What the state of our prospects was at the time I wrote this letter you will have an opportunity of learning from Gaius Titius Strabo, a worthy gentleman, and one most well disposed towards the Republic ; what need for me to say also of him that he is most eager to see you when he has left his home and all that he has, making the first object to come to you ? And therefore in his case

no letter of recommendation to you : his arrival will in itself to you be a satisfactory recommendation.

What I wish you to think and let yourself be thoroughly assured of is, that if—which I hope may not be the case—anything untoward has once befallen us, then the only refuge that good men have to fly to is to be found in yourself and Brutus. At the time of my writing matters have been brought to the final crisis ; for Brutus is now barely able to hold his position at Mutina. When once he is saved, then we have triumphed ; but if—which God forbid !—that fails, why then it will only be a race, for all of us have but one road to run, and that is to you. In view of which do you arm yourself with all the spirit and all the resources of power which are now required to win back the Republic in its integrity. Farewell.

CXXXV. (AD FAM. X. 30.)

FROM SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA AT MUTINA TO CICERO
AT ROME.

April 16, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

This letter gives an account of the battle of Forum Gallorum (a hamlet on the Aemilian road between Bologna and Modena, perhaps the place now called Castelfranco), or, as it is sometimes called, the first battle of Mutina. Victory on the whole declared for the consuls, but the rather indecisive success was more than counterbalanced by the mortal wound received by Pansa, of which he died within a fortnight. The date of the battle (unless we here read xviii. for xvii.) must be the 15th, though Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 625) assigns it to the 14th. On the receipt of the news it was proposed by Servilius to declare the state of siege ended, and to celebrate a public thanksgiving for the victory. On this occasion Cicero delivered his fourteenth and last Philippic, declaring the former part of the proposal premature, but warmly seconding the latter.

The letter is clear and soldier-like, reminding us, says Mr. Forsyth, of the Duke of Wellington's famous despatch after Waterloo. The author, Servius Sulpicius Galba, was one of the less prominent of Caesar's murderers, and was now in command of the Martian legion. He was great-grandfather of the Emperor Galba.

Merivale, iii. 171, 172; Abeken, 457-459; Forsyth, 505-508 ; compare Mr. King's Introd. to the Fourteenth Philippic.

On the 15th of April, the day on which Pansa was expected in the camp of Hirtius (I also was with him, having marched a hundred miles to meet him and thereby hasten his arrival),

Antonius drew out two of his legions, the Second and the Thirty-fifth, and two cohorts of Guards, one of which was his own, while the other belonged to Silanus, and some of the reserve. With this force he advanced against us, because he imagined that we had only four legions of raw recruits. But Hirtius, in order to enable us to arrive at the camp more safely, had sent us in the night the Martian legion, of which I myself used generally to take the command, and two cohorts of
2 Guards. After Antonius's cavalry had once shown themselves it was impossible to keep either the Martian legion or the Guards in check, and we, since we could not keep them in control, began perforce to follow their lead. Antonius was keeping his main body still at Forum Gallorum, and did not want it to be known that he had any legions ; he only showed his cavalry and light squadron. Pansa, seeing that the legion was advancing, however he might resist it, then ordered the two legions of recruits to follow him. After we had crossed a narrow strip between the woods and the marsh we formed in line, twelve cohorts in all—the two legions had not yet come.
3 Suddenly Antonius deployed his forces from the village, and charged without waiting. At first the fighting was such that it could not possibly on either side have been more desperately contested, although the right wing, where I was with eight cohorts of the Martian legion, had in the very first onset routed Antonius's Thirty-fifth, so that it was some [five hundred] yards in advance of the line [and the spot where it had originally been drawn up]. Consequently, on the cavalry making an attempt to surround our wing, I began to draw back and throw the light-armed troops forward as a shield against the Moorish cavalry, lest they should attack our men in the rear. Meanwhile I find that I am entirely surrounded by troops of Antonius, and that Antonius himself is some little distance behind me. Throwing my shield over my shoulder, I suddenly spurred my horse towards one of the legions of recruits, which was advancing from the camp. On come the Antonians in pursuit ; our men are just about to hurl their javelins ; so it must have been fate that somehow preserved me, because I was quickly recognised by our friends.
4 On the Aemilian road itself, where was the cohort of

Caesar's Guards, the struggle was long. The wing to the left, which was comparatively weak,—there were two cohorts of the Martian legion and a cohort of Guards in it—began to give ground, because they were being surrounded by the cavalry, in which the chief strength of Antonius certainly lies most. After all our lines had effected a retreat I myself began retiring last of all towards the camp. Antonius, who regarded himself as the victor, thought that he could take our camp; when he arrived there he lost many of his men at the place, and yet had no success. Hirtius on hearing of what had occurred took twenty cohorts of veterans, and met Antonius as he was returning to his own quarters; and cutting all his forces to pieces routed them, on the same spot, where the battle had been fought, at Forum Gallorum. Antonius about ten that night ⁵ fell back upon his camp near Mutina; Hirtius returned to the camp which had been Pansa's quarters, where he had left the two legions which had been beleaguered by Antonius. Thus Antonius has lost the greater portion of his veteran troops; that however could not be without some sacrifice of our own cohorts of the Guards and of the Martian legion. We have carried off from Antonius two legionary eagles and sixty standards. The result is fortunate for us.

The Camp, April 16.

CXXXVI. (AD FAM. XI. 9.)

FROM DECIUS BRUTUS AT REGIUM LEPIDI TO CICERO
AT ROME.

April 29, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the 27th Hirtius at last succeeded in forcing a second engagement with Antonius, just outside the walls of Mutina. The battle closely resembled the previous one: victory on the whole declared, but not decidedly, against Antonius, while on the other hand Hirtius this time was killed on the field. The next day Pansa also died of his wounds, and the Republic was left nominally as well as really without a head. Antonius now raised the siege of Mutina, and proceeded to cross the Alps in order to join Lepidus. At Vada (Vado, near Savona) he was joined by his most trusted officer, Publius Ventidius Bassus, with three legions; and he drafted in fresh recruits from the slave-gangs at places on his route. Decimus Brutus claimed the supreme authority in the province as its Proconsul, but to this neither Octavianus nor

his soldiers would submit. Octavianus therefore was left at Mutina, while Decimus Brutus marched towards the Alps in order, if possible, to intercept Antonius. The first of these two letters is dated from Regium Lepidi, now Reggio, between Parma and Modena ; the second from Dertona, now Tortona, about a hundred miles more to the west.

Merivale, iii. 173-181 ; Abeken, 457-462 ; Forsyth, 514-520.

1 It does not escape you what a blow the Republic has suffered in the loss of Pansa : it is now to be expected of your great influence and foresight that you will take precautions against letting our opponents hope that the consuls being gone they may recover their strength. I myself will use every exertion to prevent Antonius from the possibility of making a stand in Italy ; I shall pursue him forthwith : both these points I hope I shall be able to make certain of—that neither shall Ventidius give us the slip, nor Antonius stop long in Italy.

Above all I beg that you will send a despatch to Lepidus in order to prevent such a weathercock¹ as he is from having a chance of effecting a junction with Antonius and renewing the war ; for as to Asinius Pollio I have no doubt you see plainly what he is proposing to do. The legions of Lepidus and Asinius are both numerous and good, and may be relied **2** on. And my reason for writing this to you now is not at all as if I knew that you had no perception of the same facts as myself, but because I am thoroughly persuaded about Lepidus—if you by any chance have any doubt on the point—that he will never act in a straightforward way. I entreat you to confirm Plancus also in his resolution, who will not, I hope, since Antonius has been defeated, fail the Republic. Should Antonius succeed in getting himself across the Alps, I propose to station a garrison here, and send you notice of all my movements.

The Camp, Regium, April 29.

¹ Compare Introd. to Letter cxliv.

CXXXVII. (AD FAM. XI. 10.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS AT DERTONA TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 5, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

It is my opinion that the Republic does not owe me a heavier debt than I do to you. You already have convincing evidence that I can be more grateful towards you than those cross-grained people, as you say, are to me; or even if it should appear that these remarks of theirs are only made to suit the times, that I should still prefer your judgment to that of the whole pack of them put into the other scale. For you always frame your judgment about me from an honest and straightforward feeling which such people as those are hindered from doing by their extraordinary spitefulness and jaundiced minds. Let them interpose to prevent the recognition of my merits, provided they do not interpose to prevent the fitting performance of the charge I have from the Republic; the very dangerous situation of which I will now proceed to explain as briefly as I can.

First of all, you are not unaware what a general confusion 2 of everything in the city is following on the death of the two Consuls, and what a lust of office such a vacancy is forcing upon the minds of some people. (I have, I think, here written as much as can well be entrusted to a letter; because I know to whom I am writing.)

I return now to Antonius, who, though immediately after 3 his rout he had only a mere handful of unarmed foot-soldiers, has now, it seems, got together a tolerably numerous multitude by setting loose the slave-gangs and eagerly snapping up every species of human being. To this has been added the force of Ventidius, which after making an extremely difficult passage over the Apennines has reached Vada, and effected a junction with Antonius. With Ventidius there is a rather considerable number of veterans and armed soldiers.

Antonius's plans must necessarily be as follows: he must 4 either betake himself to Lepidus (if he is received there); or keep himself in the Alpine and Apennine district, and by

making descents with his cavalry—of which he has a large force—ravage the parts exposed to his descents; or draw off again into Etruria, because that part of Italy is without an army. But if Caesar had been willing to listen to me and to cross the Alps, I would have driven Antonius into such a corner as to make an end of him, more by starvation than by the sword. But Caesar is no more able to submit to orders from others than his army is from Caesar himself: both of which are very bad things.

Things then being as they are, I make no objection, as I said before, to the interference of people so far as it concerns myself personally; but how my present difficulties can be solved, or whether, when you are about to solve them, there will be hindrances put in the way—this I regard with alarm.

5 I am now unable to keep my soldiers. When I came forward to free the Republic I had upwards of £350,000.¹ So far is any portion whatever of my estate from being left unencumbered, that I have had now to borrow on the credit of all my friends. At the present time I am providing for the keep of no less than seven legions, with what difficulty you may imagine. It would be impossible, even if I had all Varro's wealth,² to bear up against the burden of my expenses.

As soon as ever I have ascertained on good evidence about Antonius I will see that you are informed. I will not ask you to give me your affection except on the condition that you have felt it to be reciprocated.

The Camp, Dertona, May 5.

¹ The reading *cccc* would ordinarily mean *quadringentos* or 400,000 sesterces, =about £3500, the qualification for equestrian rank; but as this would be far below the probable wealth of Brutus, and as he is evidently speaking of a large sum, Mr. Watson now admits that it must here stand for *quadringentiens*, which is a hundred times that sum, or about £350,000.

² Varro, the great scholar, though in easy circumstances, was not remarkable for his wealth, and it is difficult to account for the selection of his name. One of his essays is said to have been 'On Riches,' and, as Corradus suggests, it may refer to his instances of famous treasures.

CXXXVIII. (AD FAM. XII. 12.)

FROM GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS IN SYRIA TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 7, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Upon the murder of Trebonius (Letter cxxvii.) Cassius proceeded to raise forces against Dolabella, and was soon at the head of a powerful army. The conduct of the war was nevertheless not at first entrusted to him, but to the Consuls; but after the battle of Mutina the Senate was almost forced to give him the authority he had already assumed; and Cassius then besieged Laodicea, where Dolabella was. See Letter cxlvii.

Merivale, iii. 165; Abeken, 451. Compare Mr. King's Introd. to the Eleventh Philippic, which was delivered in support of the claims of Cassius.

I trust this letter will find you, as I am myself, in good ¹ health.¹ I have been reading your letter, in which I find new proof of your amazing kindness towards me; for it seemed that you were not only my well-wisher,—that you have ever been for the sake of the Republic as much as of myself,—but even to have undertaken a serious burden on my behalf, and to have been intensely anxious about me. And therefore because I imagined that in the first place you would think I could not possibly rest in peace so long as the Republic was trodden under foot, and because in the second place you could not but suspect that I was really making a move—for I could imagine your anxiety both about my safety and about the success of my attempt—so soon as the legions which Aulus Allienus had brought up from Egypt were handed over to me I wrote to you, and sent numerous couriers to Rome. I also wrote a letter to the Senate which I gave instructions not to deliver until it had first been read to you—if indeed my people were willing to regard my requests. If however the letter never reached its destination, I make no doubt but that Dolabella, who since his murder of Trebonius has seized Asia in this villainous way, has caught my messengers and intercepted their despatches.

I hold all the troops that were in Syria. I had to submit ² to a little delay, while effecting the fulfilment of the promises I made to the soldiers. Now at last my hands are untied.

¹ See Letter iii. note 1.

I beg of you that you will consider the assertion of my claims to honour as entrusted to your charge, if you perceive that I have never refused my country any sacrifice of personal ease or security ; if at your exhortation and on your authority I have taken up arms against these most outrageous brigands ; if I have not only raised whole armies to defend the Republic and our liberties, but have even snatched them from the cruellest of tyrants : men who, if Dolabella had been the first to secure them, would not only after their actual arrival, but even when this was only rumoured or expected, have greatly
3 strengthened the hands of Antonius. For these reasons give your patronage to my soldiers if you see that they have deserved unusually well of the Republic, and let it be seen that no one need regret his obedience to the call of his country rather than to any temptation of plunder and rapine. Give your countenance also, as far as lies in your power, to the recognition of the merits of my generals, Murcus and Crispus ; for as to Bassus,¹ he, like the miserable wretch that he is, was unwilling to transfer his legion to my authority ; so that had not his own soldiers against his wishes sent to treat with me he would have kept the gates of Apamea shut till I had stormed it. These petitions I ask of you not only in the name of the Republic, which to you has always been most dear, but also of the friendship between us, which is, I trust, with you a
4 powerful appeal. This army which I possess belongs, believe me, to the Senate, to every truly good citizen, and most of all to you, of whose sympathies they are so continually hearing, that they have a marvellous esteem for you, and hold your name dear ; let them but perceive that their interests are your care, and they will believe that they too now owe everything to you.

5 P.S.—Since writing this letter I have heard that Dolabella

¹ Compare Letter ciii. r. Quintus Caecilius Bassus intrigued against Sextus Julius Caesar, Governor of Syria, whose troops, having murdered him, revolted to Bassus. Quintus Marcius Crispus, Governor of Bithynia, and Lucius Statius Murcus were then ordered against Bassus, and besieged him in Apamea, one of the strongest towns of Syria. On the arrival of Cassius, Murcus and Crispus submitted to his authority, and the troops of Bassus compelled him reluctantly to do the same. Cassius, in contempt it would seem, from the expressions he uses here, dismissed him unhurt. Merivale, iii. 219.

is arrived with his forces in Cilicia : for Cilicia I shall start. I will take all pains to let you know speedily any success I have had ; and may the good fortune of each of us be according as we deserve of the Republic ! Forget neither your own health nor your affection for me.

The Camp, May 5.

CXXXIX. (AD FAM. X. II.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO
CICERO AT ROME.

Early in May, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Plancus, having been summoned by the Senate to Italy, moved southwards in April, crossed the Rhone, probably about Vienne, and was on the march to Italy when he heard of the death of the two consuls at Mutina and the liberation of Decimus Brutus from siege. Hereupon he halted at Cularo on the Isara, over which he threw a bridge, and waited to watch the turn of events. See Letters cxlvi. and cxlviii. The camp of Cularo, and perhaps the original town, seems to have been on the right bank of the Isère, near the modern suburb of St. Laurent, opposite to Grenoble, and at the foot of its huge Bastille. The later town of Cularo was, like Grenoble (Gratianopolis), on the left bank. Merivale, iii. 181 ; Abeken, 462 ; Forsyth, 522.

My undying thanks to you I give and shall give so long as 1 life remains ; as to repayment I cannot affirm : because to such services as yours it seems impossible for me to make any equal return, unless perchance you, as you have promised in such strong and eloquent words, will feel that I shall be truly showing my gratitude whenever hereafter I am keeping you in memory. Had the question been about an honour to your own son, you certainly could not have acted more affectionately in anything. Your original proposal, with its lavish rewards—your later one adapted to the circumstances of the time and the preference of my friends—your persistent and unfailing eloquence on my behalf—your passages of arms with my detractors in defence of me—all these are fully known to me. It is no common care I shall have to bestow in order to show myself worthy as a Roman citizen of your praises, and neither forgetful nor ungrateful to you as a friend. For what is yet to come I ask you but to play the part you have made your

own, and if but time and my actions shall show you that I am such as you desired to see me, to be my protector and patron.

2 After I had crossed the Rhone with my army, and sent my brother on in advance with 3000 horse, I was myself marching on Mutina when I heard on the road of the battle which had taken place, and of Brutus and Mutina being now free from blockade. I perceived that Antonius and such remnants of his force as are still with him have now no place to betake themselves to except in these parts; and that there are only two hopes before him, one in Lepidus's personal disposition, the other in his army's. Seeing that a certain section of that army is not a whit less lawless than the men who were with Antonius I have recalled my cavalry: I myself have made a halt amongst the Allobroges, so as to be ready for everything just as circumstances might seem to dictate. If Antonius in his exposed condition betakes himself hither I can easily, it seems to me, hold up against him as I am, and represent the Republic entirely to your satisfaction, however he may be received by the army of Lepidus: if however he is going to bring something of a force with him, and if it shall appear that the tenth legion of veterans (which thanks to my exertions has been called back again to us with the rest) has returned once more to its old rebelliousness, I shall none the less 'use every exertion to see that we come to no harm';¹ and this I hope I shall be able to put to the proof, if troops can be sent across here from you, effect a junction with us, and
3 so crush those abandoned wretches more easily. To this much, my dear Cicero, I pledge myself, that on my part neither spirit nor vigilance shall be wanting. My desire, I give you my word, is to see not a single anxiety still remaining; but if it be there, I will not in your cause yield in zeal, or affection, or endurance to any man. I am indeed using every exertion to spur Lepidus too into participation in this enterprise, and promise unlimited deference to his wishes, if only he will be willing to have some regard for the interests of the Commonwealth. In this matter I am availing myself of the

¹ I put this phrase in inverted commas because it seems to be an intentional allusion to the celebrated formula by which the Senate in times of danger conferred extraordinary powers upon magistrates.—See Letter lxxi., note 13.

assistance of my brother, together with Laterensis and our friend Furnius, to negotiate between us. No sense of injury done to myself shall hinder me from working in harmony even with my bitterest enemy for the preservation of the Republic; but if I find that I have made no advance, yet even so my spirit is none the less ardent, and perhaps with even more credit to myself I shall yet fulfil your expectations of me.

Take care of your health, and preserve a regard for me which is fully reciprocated.

CXL. (AD FAM. X. 15.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO CICERO
AT ROME.

About May 12, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

(Apparently a postscript sent with the preceding letter.)

Since my letter some circumstances have occurred which it concerned the Republic, as it seemed to me, that you should be made aware of. My assiduity, I have reason to hope, has produced good fruits both for myself and for the Commonwealth. The fact is that I have without intermission been negotiating through various people with Lepidus, to induce him to lay aside all feeling of jealousy, and renewing the goodwill that there used to be between us to concert harmonious measures for the succour of the Republic; to value himself, his children, and our city more than a single lost and outcast brigand; and, on condition of so doing, command my deference to his wishes for any object he pleased. I have gained my point; and accordingly he has pledged himself to me through Laterensis, who was acting on my behalf, that supposing him to have failed in keeping Antonius out of his province he will wage incessant war with him. He has asked me to come and join my forces with his; with all the more reason because not only was Antonius said to be strong in the cavalry arm, but such horse as Lepidus had did not even attain to mediocrity; for actually out of his scanty force ten—

and they were of his best—not many days before came over to me. When I had ascertained all this I made no delay: I thought Lepidus was a man to be helped on in the way of good counsels. I saw what my arrival was sure to bring about: that either I might pursue Antonius and crush his cavalry with my own, or the presence of my army might correct and hold in check such part of the army of Lepidus as had been tainted and made disloyal to the Republic. And therefore after throwing a bridge in one day over the Isara, a very large river which is on the border of the territory of the Allobroges, I have now—the 12th of May—taken my army across. Having however been advised that Lucius Antonius had been sent on in advance with some cavalry and cohorts, and had arrived at Forum Iuli,¹ I sent on the 11th² my brother with 4000 horse to meet him: I myself intend to follow by forced marches with four light-armed legions and the remainder of the cavalry. If only we find that the star of the Republic has been even moderately favourable to us we shall here at last discover the limits both of the audacity of these abandoned villains and of our own anxieties. If that brigand however, knowing of our arrival beforehand, begins to draw back again towards Italy, it will then be the duty of Brutus, who will not, I well know, be wanting either in courage or in skill, to meet him; nevertheless, if that has turned out to be the case, I shall myself send my brother with the cavalry to follow him, as a protection to Italy against his ravages.

Take care of your health, and preserve a regard for me which is fully reciprocated.

¹ Now Fréjus, on the Riyiera, about twenty miles west of Cannes. Mr. Forsyth (p. 522), with even more than his usual ill-fortune in names, says that Forum Iuli is now called Friaul. The most probable explanation of this blunder is that he has confused it with the other Forum Iuli in Venetia, which gives its name to the district of Friuli. The form should be *Iuli*, not *Iulii*; the genitive in *ii* only came in with the elegiac poets of the Augustan period.

² Wesenberg asserts that this contradicts the preceding sentence, and would alter v (the 11th) to iii (the 13th). But Plancus does not say the bridge was made the day before the 12th; he says it was made in one day, and that he crossed on the 12th, his brother having preceded on the 11th.

CXLI. (AD FAM. X. 34. §§ 1, 2.)

FROM MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS AT THE BRIDGE OF THE
ARGENTEUS TO CICERO AT ROME.

About May 20, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Upon the advance of Antonius into Gaul, Lepidus moved southwards, and took up his position near Forum Voconi, perhaps at a place now called Vidauban, where was a bridge over the river Argenteus (Argens), about twenty miles from its mouth at Forum Iuli (Fréjus). On the other side of the river was the camp of Antonius, and secret negotiations at the date of this letter were being exchanged between the generals. See Letter cxliv., which is an apology for his treachery to the Senate.

Merivale, iii. 181; Abeken, 463; Forsyth, 520-522.

I trust this letter will find you, as it leaves me, in good health. Hearing that Antonius had sent his brother Lucius on before him with a portion of his cavalry, and was marching with his troops upon my province, I moved my camp from the place where the river¹ falls into the Rhone, and advanced forthwith with my army to meet them. And so by forced marches I have arrived at Forum Voconi, and am now encamped beyond the town on the bank of the river Argenteus, opposite to the army of Antonius. He has now been joined by Publius Ventidius with three legions, whose camp lies on the other side of mine; previously to this he had the Fifth legion, and a very considerable number of men remaining out of the others, but insufficiently equipped. His cavalry force is large, because they all came out of the action unhurt, so that they number over 5000 horse. A good many both of foot and horse have been deserting from him to me, and day by day his forces are dwindling. Silanus and Culleo have both abandoned him. Serious however as the provocation was which I had received from them, because they had joined Antonius against my express wishes, still for the sake of my character for clemency and our former relations I have allowed

¹ Several commentators explain this of the confluence of the Rhone and the Arar (Saône) at Lyon. But Lugdunum was in the province of Plancus, not of Lepidus. The river is no doubt the Druentia (Durance), which joins the Rhone at Avignon.

them their lives ; but nevertheless I do not make use of their services, nor keep them here in my camp, nor have I appointed them to any responsible post. And in all that concerns the present war I shall not fail the Senate and the Commonwealth. What further measures I may have taken you shall hereafter be informed of.

CXLII. (AD FAM. X. 13.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS
AT CULARO.

About May 15, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

See Introd. to Letters cxxxix. and cxlv.

1 So soon as ever the opportunity was given me of still further promoting your distinctions I omitted nothing in glorification of you, so far as that consisted in either a substantial reward of your merits, or an honorary recognition of them. This you will be able to perceive from the very form in which the Senate passed the decree, it having been finally drawn up from my dictation in the way I suggested when I expressed my opinion, to which a crowded house assented with intense
2 enthusiasm and great unanimity. Although from the letter you wrote it had been made sufficiently clear to me that you found more pleasure in the deliberate approval of good men than in the externals of glory, I myself nevertheless held that we were bound to take into account, even were you to make no claim at all, how much the Republic owed to you. You will not fail to let your later work be all of a piece with its beginning : for whoever shall have succeeded in getting rid of Marcus Antonius, he it is that will have ended the war ; and thus we find that it is not Achilles nor Ajax but Ulysses that Homer has called ‘him that taketh a city.’¹

¹ The epithet *πτολιπόρθος* is applied in Homer to all the great chieftains, but it is curious that *πτολιπόρθος* (the better reading here) is used only of Odysseus (Od. ix. 504, 534). It may be a hint to Plancus to strike at Antonius rather with the craft of Ulysses than the open warfare of Achilles. Mr. Watson, however, thinks it is only because Odysseus survived the war, and entered Troy, while Aias and Achilles fell before it.

CXLIII. (AD FAM. XI. 23.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS AT EPOREDIA TO CICERO AT ROME.

May 25, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the preceding day Decimus Brutus wrote a letter to Cicero (*Ad Fam. xi. 20*) saying that he had reason, from a conversation with one Segulius Labeo, to fear that both Octavianus and the veterans were seriously incensed against Cicero. This letter is apparently written principally to deprecate any undue alarm at what he had said. The fact nevertheless was probably true.

Decimus Brutus was still marching about in North Italy, and hesitating to cross the Alps. The letter is dated from Eporedia, now Ivrea,¹ at the entrance of the Val d'Aosta, a town which commands the passes of the Great and Little St. Bernard.

Merivale, iii. 182; Abeken, 462; Forsyth, 527.

All is going on well with us here and shall go still better, if my exertions can secure it. Lepidus seems to be disposed to a friendly agreement with us. We are bound to put away suspicion entirely, and frankly consult for the good of the Commonwealth. Even if everything were far less in our favour, still with three armies of such size and strength entirely at the service of the Republic, there was good reason for you still to exhibit the fortitude you always have possessed, and can even make greater now that Fortune is declaring herself on our side.

That which I mentioned in my own handwriting in my last letter is a report of people to intimidate you. Do you but get the bit in your jaws, and then may I die if I think that the whole lot of them, however many they are, will be able to look at you if you but open your mouth to speak. I myself propose, as I mentioned to you before, to stay in Italy until I get a letter from you.

Eporedia, May 25.

¹ Mr. Forsyth of course is wrong with 'Jurea'; but perhaps like Abeken's 'Torea,' this is for once only a misprint.

CXLIV. (AD FAM. X. 35.)

LETTER ADDRESSED BY MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS TO THE
SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME.

May 30, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

On the 29th of May, only a week after the letter to Cicero (No. cxli.) conveying assurances of his unalterable devotion to the Senate, Lepidus joined his army to that of Antonius, thus giving a fatal blow to the hopes of Cicero and the Senatorial party. According to his own representation in this manifesto, and the account given in Plutarch's life of Antonius, he was unwillingly coerced by his soldiers; but though Lepidus may well have wished to present an appearance of acting under compulsion, his defection had probably been preconcerted, and was rewarded by a place in the Second Triumvirate. Marcus Iuuentius Laterensis,¹ his second in command, attempted suicide on the discovery of the treason, and died soon after of his wound (Letter cxlv.) On the 30th of June the Senate voted Lepidus a public enemy, and ordered his statue to be thrown down, but these decrees they were afterwards compelled to cancel.

The character of Lepidus is generally painted in very black colours. In Julius Caesar, act iv. scene 1, Antony describes him as 'a slight unmeritable man, meet to be sent on errands . . . either led or driven as we point the way'; and his rise to be one of the three lords of the world was certainly due mainly to the power given him by his enormous wealth; but it is justly remarked in the Dictionary of Biography that the respect with which he was treated by Caesar is probable evidence that he possessed greater talents than he ever exerted.

Merivale, iii. 181; Abeken, 462; Forsyth, 523. Compare Dict. Biogr. ii. 768.

MARCUS LEPIDUS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND PONTIFEX
MAXIMUS, TO THE SENATE, THE PEOPLE, AND
THE COMMONS OF ROME.

I trust that all is well with you and yours, as it is with me. I call heaven and earth to witness, Conscript Fathers, on which side my sympathies and convictions with reference to the Republic have ever been; and how I have held to the opinion that no consideration whatever comes before the safety and freedom of the Commonwealth. And of this I should shortly have given you proof, had not chance snatched out of my hands my freedom of acting as I had intended; for my army having unanimously rebelled against my authority

¹ Mr. Forsyth (p. 523) here surpasses himself, not being able to get nearer the right name than *Laterculus*.

and preserved its tradition of sparing fellow-citizens, and living in peace with them all, has forced me--to confess the truth--to constitute myself the protector of the lives and fortunes of so vast a multitude of Roman citizens.

Now in these circumstances, Conscrip Fathers, I implore ² and entreat you to think no more of private resentment, but consult only for the highest welfare of the State, not imputing it to traitorous purposes if I and my army have shown humanity in the midst of civil dissensions; whereas when you have allowed regard for the safety and the honourable position of us all to enter into your calculations, the counsels you take will then be wiser both for yourselves and for the Commonwealth.

Pons Argenteus, May 3c.

CXLV. (AD FAM. XI. 13.)

FROM DECIMUS BRUTUS ON THE MARCH TO GAUL TO CICERO
AT ROME.

§§ 1-3, May; §§ 4, 5, June, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

The first portion of this letter is apparently an answer to some expressions of discontent at Rome that Decimus Brutus had not pursued Antonius sooner; the latter part is written to encourage the Senate owing to the good understanding he had established with Plancus. Decimus Brutus left Italy only when it was too late to prevent the defection of Lepidus, and crossing by the Graian Alps (Little St. Bernard) about the 9th of June united his army; consisting of ten legions, mostly however raw recruits, with that of Plancus at Cularo (Grenoble). See Letter cxlvi. 3.

The descriptions which Brutus gives of the state of his army in §§ 2 and 4 of this letter seem hardly consistent with one another. Mr. Watson suspects that two fragments of letters written at different times have been combined, probably at the place which is marked by asterisks, § 4. In his opinion the former part of the letter was written between May 11-25, at some place on the march from Pollentia to Eporedia, the latter part about June 7-14 from some camp on the Upper Isara, perhaps near Darentasia (Moutiers). This view seems to reconcile the difficulties.

See Watson, Appendix xiii.; Journal of Philology, viii. 269; Merivale, iii. 182; Abeken, 462.

No more formal acknowledgments of gratitude to you now: one to whom acts can scarcely make an adequate return cannot from the very nature of the case be satisfactorily

repaid with words. I want you to give your close attention to this which is now come upon my hands, because your judgment is too keen for any point to be likely to escape you, when once you have carefully read my letter.

The reasons, my dear Cicero, why I could not immediately pursue Antonius were these : I was without cavalry, without baggage-waggons ; I was not aware that Hirtius had fallen ; I was not inclined to trust to Caesar, before I had met and consulted with him. So it was that this day passed. On the next day early I was summoned by Pansa to Bononia : while marching thither I received the news that he was dead. I hurried back to my little corps, for so I may truly call it, it is so terribly thinned down and fallen on evil days from want of all the necessary supplies. Antonius had two days' start of me, making far longer marches in his flight than I in pursuit of him, because he moved straggling everywhere, I in regular order. In whatever direction he went he loosed the slave-gangs, snapped up men, and stopped nowhere till he got to Vada,¹ a place I wish you knew the character of : it lies between the Alps and the Apennines, and is full of obstacles to the movements of an army. When I was within thirty miles of him and after he had been joined by Ventidius a speech of his to the soldiers was reported to me, in which he began to ask them to follow him across the Alps : he had said a private understanding with Lepidus. There were cries in answer pretty generally among the soldiers of Ventidius —for as to his own they are but the merest handful—that they would either conquer or die on the soil of Italy, and they began to petition for a march on Pollentia.² Not being able to hold out against them, he put off his march till the following day. On receiving this intelligence I immediately sent on five cohorts in advance to Pollentia, and directed my own march thither. My advanced guard reached Pollentia an hour before Trebellius and his cavalry. * * * I was immensely delighted of course, for on this, in my opinion,

¹ Vado, near Savona.

² Now Pollenzo, near Brà, between Turin and Savona. A great battle occurred here in 403 A.D. between Alaric and Stilicho ; Gibbon, ch. 30. The name is wrongly given in Dict. Geogr. as Polenza. It has a Royal Palace.

victory depends. * * * They had now come to a hopeful state, because they neither thought the four legions of Plancus any match for their forces when all united, nor believed it possible for troops to be brought over from Italy so rapidly. These are the men whose attacks even my Gallic troops and all the cavalry force I had sent on in advance were repelling with tolerable coolness, and now that I am come we are confident they can be held up even more easily. Nevertheless if by any chance they should really have succeeded in getting themselves across the Isara my utmost efforts shall be devoted to seeing that they saddle no ill burden upon the Republic. You and others we would fain have courageous in heart and high in hope in this great crisis, since you see that both of us generals and both of our armies too are joined in exceptional harmony to meet every risk for your sake. But nevertheless you are equally bound not to relax your vigilance at all, and to exert yourselves so that we may be perfectly prepared, not only in respect of troops but in all other requisites, to do battle for your safety against this infamous conspiracy of our foes; who have actually been suddenly turning the very forces which for a long time they were fraudulently collecting in the name of the Republic to imperil the country that gave them birth.

CXLVI. (AD FAM. X. 23.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO
CICERO AT ROME.

June 6, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

Plancus crossed the Isara on the 24th of May, and marched southwards in the belief that his forces were to be united with Lepidus against Antonius, but on hearing of the defection of Lepidus he recrossed the Isara on June 4, and awaited the arrival of Decimus Brutus, who was expected to join him shortly.

Merrivale, iii. 182; Abeken, 462; Forsyth, 523, 524.

Never, my dear Cicero, I pledge you my word, shall it repent me of enduring the most terrible risks on behalf of my country if only, should anything hereafter have befallen me, I am acquitted of the grave imputation of heedlessness. If I

had ever heartily trusted Lepidus I should be willing to acknowledge that I had made a slip through want of caution, for trustfulness is rather an error than a vice; indeed it insinuates itself into a character of a man with ease in proportion to his excellence; but in my case it was not this defect by which I narrowly escaped being deceived: no, I knew Lepidus perfectly.

What then is the reason? It was the sensitiveness of honour—one of the most dangerous of all qualities in war—which forced me to run this risk of failure; for unless I united my position with Lepidus I was afraid it might appear to some one of my detractors that I persisted unduly in my resentment against him, and was by my inactivity even supplying fuel to ² the war. I therefore advanced with my force till we were almost within sight of Lepidus and Antonius, and encamped at the distance of about forty miles from them, with the object of enabling myself either to advance rapidly or retreat in perfect safety. In the choice of a situation too I combined the advantages of having in front a river, so as to secure a delay in their crossing, and close at hand the Vocontians,¹ through whose district the road would be faithfully kept open for me. Lepidus despairing of my arrival, which he was longing for to no slight degree, coalesced with Antonius on the 29th of May, and on that very day they started on the march towards me. When they were still twenty miles ³ away I received intelligence of the fact. I exerted myself, with the help of Providence, at once to retire with all speed, and to see that this retrograde movement had no resemblance at all to a flight; that not a single soldier, horse or foot, nor a particle of baggage, should be lost or cut off by that hot crew of brigands. So on the 4th of June I crossed the Isara with all my army, and broke down the bridges I had constructed, that the men might have time for recovering themselves, and I meanwhile might coalesce with my colleague, whom I expect in three days from the date of this letter.

⁴ The remarkable zeal and fidelity which our friend Laterensis

¹ The Vocontians bordered on the Allobroges to the south. Their country may be taken as about equivalent to the district from Avignon to Grenoble, of which Gap is the centre.

has displayed towards the Republic I shall ever acknowledge, but unquestionably his excessive partiality for Lepidus made him less acute for perceiving these dangers. He indeed on discovering the snare into which he had been led attempted to lay hands upon himself, hands which might with better reason have wielded a sword to slay Lepidus ; but it was stayed before 5 it fell, and he still survives, and is, they tell me, likely to live. But of that, it is true, I am not so sure.²

I then have escaped from these traitors to their fatherland, to their unbounded mortification, for they were swooping upon me under the same frenzy which lashes them to fury against their country. As for their recent explosions against me, they arise from the following circumstances : that I had never ceased from applying the goad to Lepidus to make him stamp out the war ; that I used to disapprove of the negotiations going on ; that I had forbidden the envoys sent by Antonius under a safe-conduct from Lepidus to appear in my presence ; and that I had intercepted Gaius Catius Vestinus, a general officer whom Antonius sent to him with secret despatches. And I find this much of pleasure in the fact that undoubtedly in 6 proportion as they were eager to get at me, so much the greater vexation has their disappointment given them.

Do you then, my dear Cicero, continue, as you have hitherto done, to give us proofs of your unfailing vigilance and energy in seeing that we who stand on the field of battle are furnished with proper supplies. Let Caesar join us with whatever troops are the most to be depended on in his army, or if anything prevents his coming himself—indeed even his personal safety is now greatly imperilled—let his army be sent. Of desperadoes all that ever was sure to be found in the camp opposed to their country's cause is now streaming hither : then why truly should we not use for the salvation of our city all the means we possess ? And as for whatever lies in me, if only 7 I find that you at home have not failed me, assuredly I will in every respect richly answer to the expectations of the Republic.

You indeed, my dear Cicero, I hold, upon my honour, dearer, day by day, nor does a day pass but the benefits you

² See Introd. to Letter cxliv.

have conferred sharpen still more the edge of my anxiety lest I should lose the smallest particle of either your affection or your esteem. I trust that when we meet again it may be my privilege by the affection I shall show in your service to increase the pleasure you have hitherto felt in doing me acts of kindness.

Cularo, District of the Allobroges, June 6.

CXLVII. (AD FAM. XII. 10.)

FROM CICERO AT ROME TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS AT LAODICEA.

Early in July, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

This, the latest certain letter written by Cicero which we possess,¹ is a congratulation to Cassius on his success against Dolabella, and an entreaty to him to come to Italy as the last hope of the Senate after the defection of Lepidus. To the appeal however Cassius did not respond. After the coalition in October of the three great powers, Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus, he met Brutus at Smyrna to concert measures, and in the following year marched into Macedonia, where, being defeated by Antonius and Octavianus in the great battle of Philippi, they both committed suicide as Dolabella had done.

Merivale, iii. 219; Abeken, 464.

1 Your brother-in-law,² my once familiar friend, Lepidus, was on the 30th day of June declared a public enemy by an unanimous vote of the Senate, as were all those who shared his treachery to the Republic, though to them it has been left open to return to their right mind before the 1st of September. The Senate, it is true, is resolute, but that is mainly in the hope of the support you can give. The war indeed at the time of my writing this is truly serious through the villainy and worthlessness of Lepidus.

We daily hear satisfactory news about Dolabella, but as yet without any known source—given without authority, and **2** upon mere rumour. But though this is the case, yet such a conviction was established in the public mind by the letter which you wrote from your camp on the 7th of May—a general belief in his being now crushed, and you being on the march to Italy at the head of an army,—that we could either rely upon

¹ Ad Brutum, i. 14, 15, are of mid-July.

² See Letter cxviii. note 1.

your counsel and authority, should our present work have been satisfactorily done, or on the strength of your army if, as does happen in war, a false step had by any chance been taken. For this army you may be sure that I will do all that is in my power to make due provision in every way ; the proper opportunity to attain which object will be after it has begun to be known how much strength your army will contribute, or what it has already contributed to the cause of the Republic ; for as yet we hear of nothing but endeavours, most meritorious and gallant ones, it is true, but still people look for something really achieved, and this indeed I feel confident has already been done in some degree or else is just impending. Than 3 your own bravery and magnanimity can be nothing more splendid, and we therefore hope to see you in Italy as soon as may be ; when we have both of you we shall seem to ourselves to have the Republic. We had won a glorious victory had Lepidus only not given shelter to Antonius when he was stripped, unarmed, exiled ; and consequently never was Antonius held in such detestation by the public as Lepidus is now ; for the former only out of a country already embroiled, the latter out of peace and triumph, has succeeded in exciting the flames of war. To confront him we look to the consuls-elect, in whom we have confidence indeed, and that in no slight degree, but still not without anxious suspense owing to the uncertainty of the issues of battles. Allow yourself therefore 4 to be thoroughly persuaded that on you and your friend Brutus everything depends ; that both of you are being looked for at home, Brutus indeed now at any moment. And though as I trust when you arrive it will be to find all our foes prostrate, still under your direction the Republic shall rise from her ashes, and be established on some satisfactory basis ; for there are very many things yet we shall have to repair, even if it shall be shown that the Republic has really been delivered from the iniquity of her enemies. Farewell.

CXLVIII. (AD FAM. X. 24.)

FROM LUCIUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS AT CULARO TO CICERO
AT ROME.

July 28, 711 A.V.C. (43 B.C.)

This letter is of very great interest, not only as being the latest of Cicero's correspondence, but also as having apparently escaped by accident when those which might compromise other people, particularly Octavianus, were destroyed. With the exception of this letter the name of Octavianus does not occur in the correspondence after May, and no letters at all have been preserved of the last four months of Cicero's life. See Abeken, 463, 470; Boissier, *Recherches sur les Lettres de Cicéron*, p. 20.

After the battle of Mutina the Senate unwisely showed their distrust of Octavianus in various ways, such as the refusal of a triumph, and the omission of his name from the Commissioners appointed to distribute lands to the veterans opposed to Antonius. Octavianus was determined to insist on his position at once, and sent a deputation of four hundred soldiers to demand the consulship (see § 6), which was refused. His eight legions then called upon him to march against Rome: the African legions summoned to oppose him deserted to his standard; and nothing was left for it but submission. On the 22d of September, the day before he was twenty years old, he was elected consul, with his cousin Quintus Pedius as his colleague. The outlawry of Dolabella and Antonius was then revoked, all Caesar's murderers were condemned in their turn, and Octavianus marched to join Antonius.

This sudden change produced immediate results. Pollio at once declared for the allies, and was soon followed by Plancus. Decimus Brutus then finding his position untenable fled to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia, where he was murdered by a Gaulish chief. The three allies, Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus, about the end of October held their celebrated meeting on an island in the river Rhenus, near Bononia (Bologna), at which they constituted themselves a commission of three with absolute power for five years, generally called the Second Triumvirate. This was followed by a proscription of their principal opponents, in which many victims fell, of whom the most illustrious was Cicero himself.

Merivale, iii. 184-217; Abeken, 465-474; Forsyth, 524-537.

1 I cannot refrain from expressing my sense of your kindness as each manifestation of it and your services to me occurs, but I may solemnly assure you that I do so with a sense of shame; for not only does such a tie of intimacy as you were willing to give me the privilege of enjoying with you seem to be superior to the need of a formal acknowledgment of thanks, but I too am unwilling to avail myself of the cheap return of words for the very great services you have done me, and prefer to prove to you when we meet, by my respect, my

tenderness, my constant devotion, that I am not ungrateful. Yes, if only my life has been spared, in respect, in tenderness, and in devotion to you, I mean to outdo all the gratitude of friendship, nay, even all the tender ties of relationship ; for it would not be easy for me to say whether your affection and esteem for me is likely to bring me more daily pleasure or more everlasting honour.

You have made it your care to look to the interests of my ² soldiers ; whom I wished to see rewarded by the Senate, not for the sake of advancing my own power with them, for I know that in my thoughts there is no taint of disloyalty, but because in the first place I was satisfied this was what they had deserved ; secondly, in view of whatever might befall us I wanted them to be attached more closely to the cause of the Commonwealth ; lastly, it was in order to keep them away from every kind of temptation any one might hold out, and be able to answer to you for their still remaining the men they have as yet been. I have hitherto succeeded in keeping ³ everything here as it was. Which policy of mine, though I am well aware how little the public—not unreasonably—is anxious for a triumph which is limited to this,¹ I still trust will be approved of by you and your friends ; for should any false step have been made with our armies here, the Republic has no large reserves in readiness in order to meet any sudden raid made by these outlaws if they attack their own fatherland. As to the strength of our own force however, that, I imagine, is well known to you. In my own camp there are three legions of veterans, and one of soldiers newly joined (but this is absolutely the finest of them all) ; in Brutus's camp is one legion of veterans, one of the second year, and eight of recruits : the army therefore as a whole is in respect of numbers very strong, of quality but poor ; while we have had proof only too often already how far one ought to trust a recruit under fire.² Had either the African army, which is ⁴

¹ If the reading *talis* be correct, *quantus* must mean how little, as in Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 81, *in seobe quantus consistit sumptus* (cf. Letter xv. § 8). Mr. Watson mentions a plausible suggestion of H. A. Koch, *fatalis* = decisive ; Wesenberg inserts *belli*.

² Mr. Watson gives as examples Tharsalus (Mommisen, iv. 415 ; Letter

composed of veterans, or that of Octavianus Caesar been added to ours, we could with perfect confidence have brought the fate of the Republic to the test of a battle. Since however we both saw that Caesar was considerably the nearer of the two, I have never ceased to urge him by letter, nor has he ever failed to protest that he was coming without delay, while I notice that meanwhile he has turned his back on the thought of this, and betaken himself to other views. I have however sent our trusty Furnius with instructions and despatches to him, in case he should be able by any chance to do some good.

5 Now you know, my dear Cicero, that as far as a liking for Octavianus goes, you and I agree; whether we say that considering my intimate relations to Caesar in his lifetime it was my duty even then to give him my support and regard, or that he himself, as far as I could ever discover, was of a most courteous and well-balanced disposition, or because after such an exceptional friendship as existed between Caesar and myself it would ill become me not to recognise a youth as his son whom he has adopted into that position upon a deliberate
 6 choice, which all of you have duly ratified. But still—I give you my solemn word that whatever I here state to you I do more in a spirit of pain than of resentment—if Antonius is alive at this hour, if Lepidus has joined him, if they both have armies which cannot be despised, if they are full of hope or daring—all this they may put down to the credit of Octavianus Caesar. Nor will I now re-open what is of earlier date; but going no further back than the time when he was voluntarily professing to me to be coming, if he had but been really willing to come the war would by now have been either stamped out, or driven to their immense disadvantage into Spain, the most unfavourable place for their side. What leanings or what ultimate views can have drawn him away from this which was true glory—nay was positively essential and profitable for himself—and set his thoughts instead upon a consulship of a couple of months, implying as it does extreme anxiety to everybody, and a most offensive appearance of
 7 demanding, I cannot succeed in penetrating. It seems to me

lxxviii. 2), Thapsus (Mommsen, iv. 434; Merivale, ii. 358), and Forum Gallorum (Letter cxxxv.; Merivale, iii. 172).

that in this matter his nearest relations may now do a great deal, as much in his interest as in that of the Commonwealth ; but most of all, in my opinion, may you yourself, whose claims to gratitude on him are such as on no one else with the exception of myself, for never shall I forget that my debts to you are as great as they are numerous. Upon this point I have entrusted to Furnius the duty of negotiating with him. And if it shall prove that with him I have the influence I ought to have, he will find that I have been of the most valuable assistance to himself.

Meanwhile our part in the war is made harder, because while we do not think that to hazard a decisive engagement would be very free from risk, we nevertheless shall not allow the possibility by a refusal of a still heavier blow being struck at the Republic. But if we once find that either Caesar has taken a juster view of that in which he is concerned, or the legions from Africa have speedily joined us, we will soon relieve you of all fear in this quarter.

Let me entreat you to continue that regard you have hitherto entertained for me, and believe me ever devoted to your interests.

The Camp, July 28.

Here ends Cicero's correspondence ; but the remainder of his life may be briefly told by way of conclusion. Cicero and his brother, with whom he was now again on cordial terms, were staying together at his villa at Tusculum when the news of the proscription arrived. Quintus returned to Rome to obtain money for an escape to Macedonia, and was there slain together with his son. Marcus reached the coast at Astura, where he embarked and might have escaped ; but with the irresolution of purpose which had characterised him through life he insisted on returning, to appeal, it is supposed, to Octavianus. A fragment of Livy preserved by Seneca asserts that he even put to sea more than once. At last—it was on the 7th of December—he was overtaken by the assassins sent by Antonius, and murdered, in the neighbourhood of his villa at Formiae, displaying at the last in the face of death that calmness and resolution in which throughout life he had been wanting.

Though Cicero was, as Dean Merivale says, 'of all the characters of antiquity that with which we are most intimately acquainted,' the estimates of him vary to an extraordinary degree ; nor is this surprising in the case of a character so complex, and living in times where it is often so difficult to grasp the truth of history.

Of Cicero's life alone among the ancients we have not only the broad outlines, but the light and shade of an immense mass of detail, largely given by himself, so that it is really the completer information which causes the diversity

of views. After the celebrated work of Middleton Caesar was regarded as a tyrant whom it was somehow meritorious to murder, and Cicero as a peerless statesman and model of every virtue. The great work of Mommsen has established the place of Caesar beyond any possible controversy as one of the world's greatest benefactors. But he has certainly been less than fair to Cicero, never acknowledging any of his merits, and even finding his writings a 'dreary waste.' Drumann, following suit, hunts Cicero down with personal malignity. But of late Cicero's star has been rising again from the depressing influence of Mommsen. The works of Mr. Froude and of Anthony Trollope show the hold he possesses on men of letters; and the judicious Introductions of Mr. Watson and Professor Tyrrell, with an able article in the Quarterly for October 1880, and Professor Nettleship's review of the first edition of this book in the Academy, October 9, 1880, fairly represent the balanced judgment of English scholars.

The following references will afford to a student abundant material for comparison:—Smith's Dict. Biogr. iii. 718 (by Professor Ramsay); Merivale, Hist. Empire, iii. 206-213; Encycl. Britann., Cicero (also by Dean Merivale); Forsyth, 538 *ad fin.*; Froude, Caesar, ch. 27 (a clever work, but very reckless in translation); Trollope, Life of Cicero, Introd. (interesting from its author and its evident sincerity, but resting on too small a basis of scholarship for such a task); Pretor, Essay in his edition of *Ad Att. Book I.* (a bitter attack); and various sarcastic criticisms to be gathered from the fourth vol. of Mommsen, and Professor Beesly's *Catiline and Clodius*, and apologetic ones from the translation of Abeken's 'Cicero in his Letters,' edited by Dean Merivale. M. Boissier's 'Cicéron et ses Amis,' is a very interesting sketch.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 32, note 14. *fabam mimum*. More use of conjecture has been made on this passage than perhaps on any other in Cicero. Hofmann's *fabae hilum* is worthless, and Schütz's rather obvious *fabulam mimum*, which has found some acceptance (Wesenberg adopts it, inserting *ac*), fails to account for the corruption. A very clever but uneconvincing conjecture, *fabae midam*, 'the weevil in the bean,' was independently made by Mr. Brooks, of Trinity College, Dublin (*apud* Tyrrell and Purser), and by my friend the Rev. W. R. Inge, (now the Dean of St. Paul's) (*Classical Review*, iv. p. 382). It appears from a note of Gronovius on Plaut. Aul. v. 1. 10, though he does not quote his authority, that *mida* was a small insect, and that boys played at being the first to find them in beans. Another striking conjecture, *κναμισμόν*, 'a mere lottery,' was made by Mr. W. J. Evans (*Classical Review*, v. p. 128). But besides the fact that this is an unknown word, it needs some violence to make it account for *mimum*. We must bear in mind that the connexion with Seneca, Apocol. 9, 'iam famam *mimum fecisti*', not at all to be dismissed as 'a corrupt passage,' is too close to be accidental. Either *fabam mimum* or *famam mimum* must be a recognised proverb, and perhaps the latter, meaning 'Glory, a farce,' is to be preferred. In this view I have the support of Dr. Reid.

P. 32, note 17. *lubet mihi facere*. This is ordinarily rendered, as by me formerly, 'I have a fancy for making one.' But the omission of the object is awkward, while the sacrificial use without an object occurs at any rate in Ep. Brut. i. 15. 8, and several early writers. Compare too, *caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis*, Att. i. 13. 1. (Ep. vi.).

P. 59, note 10. The full sentence is Ὡ ποτειδάν, τοθι δτι ὁρθὰν τὰν ναιν καταδίσω (not καταδώσω), which is to be found (Mr. T. K. Abbott, *Classical Review*, ii. p. 119) in the Rhodian Oration of Aelius Aristides.

P. 89, note 11. This passage is extremely difficult, and obviously in part corrupt. Wesenberg's correction, *et L. Bestiam*, is impossible, because Cicero defended Bestia *de ambitu* the very next day. Mr. Warde Fowler (*Classical Review*, ii. p. 40), reading with Madvig and Wesenberg *ad adligatos*, proposes to give this the sense of 'witnesses' instead of 'implicated,' and supposes *ista ei* to be a corruption of a gloss *testes*, but he cannot quote any better authority for this meaning than Isidore of Seville. Dr. Reid has kindly sent me the following note: - 'Cicero so often uses *adligatus* of a man implicated in a crime that it seems very unlikely that once, without anything

in the context to lead up to it, he would apply it to those who are merely witnesses. If I were editing I should, I think, excise *ad* as dittographic, and read *adlegatos*. The word is used a good many times by Cicero of private persons commissioned by a friend to act as intermediaries, but nowhere of any official personages. I have no doubt that in Cluent. § 39, the right reading is *adlegatum*. Cicero evidently intended to connect the *Senatus consultum* with the *indicium* of Nerius, and the corrupt words *ista ei* hide the connecting link. Perhaps *ei* is the common corruption of *eius*, and *ista* was in agreement with some noun (*denuntiatione?*) which has dropped out.'

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